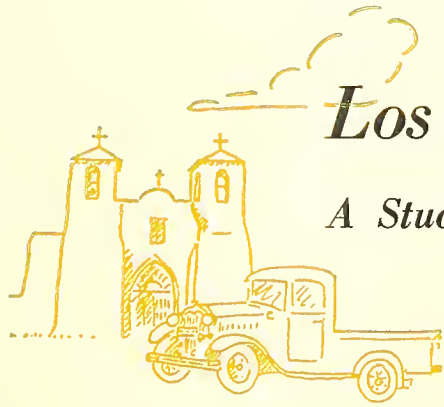


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Los Manitos

A Study of Institutional Values

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Preface

THIS is a report on twelve months of anthropological field work in the Rimrock¹ area of rural New Mexico. The research centered on the social structure and values of the Spanish American way of life and their reflections in formal and informal humor. It began on a sunny fall day of 1949 when I climbed out of a jeep in Aspera, rented an empty house for a month's stay, and sauntered over to make the acquaintance of two young men who were discussing the repair of an ailing school bus. It continued throughout the following year in Aspera (three months), La Peña (six months) and San Martín (three months), with anthropological observation and informal interviews.

The account which follows gives the results of the more general aspect of the study;² it is a study of values—the values expressed in the social action and socio-cultural forms of the Spanish Americans of New Mexico.

Because of the original stress on humor, the primary field technique was participant observation. I attempted no formal interviewing on special aspects of the culture, but instead tried to sample diverse cultural contexts within the limits imposed by my own loosely ordered role in the community. Initially I was classified as a *maestro* or *profesor* (teacher). Informants were told that the object of the study was the collection of traditional folk songs. This story provided a relaxed context of observation in which a natural play of humor as well as other informal social activities could take place. Later, a degree of acceptance modified this initial definition, and I could participate in most situations simply as an *amigo*. Despite my Anglo name and

frankly admitted Anglo-Protestant antecedents, I was most often classified as a sort of cultural half-breed (*coyote*) rather than as a *gringo*.

These various definitions facilitated some relationships more than others. I made extensive observations, for example, in homes during mealtimes and afternoon, evening or overnight visits, at sheep camps, sheep drives, cattle roundups and brandings, church services, election polls, rodeos and fiestas, weekly dances, in bars, restaurants and stores, in police court and in play groups and men's discussion groups on the streets. Perhaps the most serious gaps in the range of observation are those events which occur but rarely (baptisms, wakes, weddings), those defined as secret (Penitente ceremonies) or private (family parties), contexts of a highly intimate or esoteric nature (sexual behavior, witchcraft, business transactions), and especially situations in which the pattern of segregation of the sexes necessitates a female investigator (child care and home management). Attempts were made to correct for the lack of direct observation in these latter areas through directed questioning and inference.

The picture of Hispano culture here presented is something of a composite. Except where otherwise noted, it describes the cultural and social systems of the three villages studied, and, with some minor variations, of rural Spanish Americans in New Mexico north of San Marcial together with those in adjacent parts of Colorado and Arizona. For ecological reasons, the river valley communities may differ from these plateau towns in a number of important respects. The primary source of the description is my own observation, but this has been supplemented by extensive comparative materials on the Rimrock area, on New Mexico generally, on the Southwest, and on Mexico. Field notes and

1. Rimrock and other place names are fictitious.

2. A more specific and complete study which tested a series of hypotheses about the relationship between values and patterns of humor constituted my doctoral dissertation at Harvard University, 1952. The materials are also extensively discussed by Mead, 1955, pp. 151-177.

unpublished observations of other investigators in the Rimrock area have also been consulted, notably those of E. Z. Vogt, F. Kluckhohn, O. Simmons and F. Bourri-caud.

I am deeply indebted to Drs. Clyde and Florence Kluckhohn for their general guidance and encouragement, and to Dr. and Mrs. Evon Z. Vogt for generous help and suggestions during and after my field work. I am grateful, too, to Dr. E. Lee Hoffman for his assistance and to Ethel Albert and Mrs. Clarissa Schnebli for extensive editorial work. I am further indebted to an anonymous but efficient Greenwich Village thief for the loss of my first draft

and other materials—a debt I do not altogether grudge, for the manuscript has gained from reconsideration and rewriting. I am ungrudgingly grateful to my colleagues on the Comparative Study of Values Project of the Laboratory of Social Relations at Harvard, to the hospitable people of the Rimrock area, and to my *jefes* and *manitos*, who have lived through every step of this research experience with me. To all of these and to my colleagues at Tulane and my present editor (*stet*), I can only say *Dios se lo pague*. Short-comings which remain are, of course, my own.

MUNRO S. EDMONSON

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Introduction

THE study of values has emerged in recent years in a new synthetic connection in social sciences. For a long time many of the social science disciplines have been concerned with various aspects of this area of study; indeed, in a loose sense scientific methodologists have been concerned with evaluative problems outside the range of the behavioral sciences. The attempt to integrate our knowledge over a wide range of scientific theory around the subtle and complex conception of values is, however, a modern strategy specific to the social sciences, broad in scope, eclectic in method, and fundamental in implications.

The present study represents one attack on this problem. In order to emphasize the specialized nature of its tactics, it has been called a study in institutional values. Its object is to analyze and describe value configurations implicit in the culturally distinctive social structure of the rural Spanish Americans of New Mexico. These configurations may be called "institutional" in the sense that they derive primarily from only one class of data: the facts of social organization in Spanish American culture, analyzed structurally and viewed comparatively. That institutional values bear a close relationship to those derived from different analytic procedures is a broad and basic postulate of value theory, but the nature of this relationship is a question to which we can give only the vaguest of empirical answers.

From the particular viewpoint of this study, the theory of values poses problems which may be considered as a projection and extension of the functionalist questions in anthropological theory: (1) what is the nature of group life, its cohesiveness and solidarity, its stability and change? (2) what are the elements of "human nature," what is its structure and what are the sources of its permanence and

flexibility? (3) what are the processes, patterns or elements which relate the individual to the group? The answers which have been given to these questions may be found in various theoretical systems throughout the behavioral sciences. Those which lie in the background of this study are drawn primarily from anthropological functionalism, and from the "structuralist" and "culture and personality" theories which are more recent extensions of that theoretical position.

Functional anthropology has been criticized for reifying society, for reductionism, for failing to explain change, for relativism, for its anti-historical bias and for theoretical vagueness. Actually the theory has not stood still long enough for all of these criticisms to be really telling. There has been widespread sensitivity to such strictures, and recent theorists have been most self-conscious in attempting to find ways around them. The professional consensus within anthropology on the conception of cultures as wholes, and the *de facto* historical interests of the discipline have militated against reductionism and anti-historical assumptions. Collaboration between psychology and anthropology has made both fields aware of the problems of reductionism or reification.

Functionalism in anthropology may be traced to the somewhat artificial union of two ideas. On the one hand it represents the assumption, traceable to Durkheim, that the explanation of social forms lies in their complementary contributions to a solidary social whole, a viewpoint also stressed by Radcliffe-Brown, who derives his conception from Durkheim's explicit definition of function by biological analogy.¹ Durkheim makes it quite clear, as does Radcliffe-Brown, that the "needs" met by functioning societies are those of

¹. Radcliffe-Brown, 1935, p. 396; Durkheim, 1933, p. 49.

the social whole, and that the structuring of these needs is social structure. On the other hand functionalism has often been equated with Malinowski's interpretation of social forms in terms of biological and psychological needs of the individual.²

The loose combination of these theoretical assumptions led to the dictum that all social forms are functional in contributing either to the survival and adjustment of the individual or to the survival and integration of society.³ A whole generation of scholars has devoted itself to the functional study of social change and social process, producing studies in acculturation, socialization and nativistic movements, and adding voluminously to the existing literature on invention, diffusion and culture growth. Functionalist theory, still suffering perhaps from lack of clarity, has continued to develop in new directions.

Of the more recent developments in anthropological theory, two seem to be of special relevance. They might be labelled the "structural" and "dynamic" aspects of theory, and they seem to imply a continuation of the two different views of function from which we started. The structuralist position continues the interest of Durkheim and Radcliffe-Brown in the integrational interpretation of social forms. This is inherent in Bateson's definitions of premise and structure as generalized patterns of implicit culture,⁴ or in Kluckhohn's analogous usage of covert configurations and ethos.⁵ The dynamic line of argument lays particular emphasis on the individual and the processes which link him to society. "Culture and personality" studies have preserved and expanded this interest.

The convergence of these two foci of interest has been considerably accelerated by the conjoint elaboration of structural and dynamic theory, and has led to an interest in the field of values from both

the social and the motivational aspects. In this sense we may consider value theory the lineal descendant of functionalism, and the most recent expression of a synthetic tendency already explicit in Malinowski.

Like the concept of function in earlier theory, the concept of values is a bridging one, essaying to phrase in a single formulation the relation of parts to the whole at both the individual and social levels of organization simultaneously. Kluckhohn's definition makes this explicit:

A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action.⁶

Where the concept of function was analytic and laid stress on the pre-conditions (organizational, biological, psychological and environmental) of social life, the concept of values is historical, and emphasizes the configurational organization of the integrative processes as such. The relation between the two is complex. Function covers a considerable part of the field definable as value; values in turn may be said to have functions—they can be roughly equated with the "integrative functions."

The shift in theoretical interest dramatized by the explicit attention now being devoted to value theory thus implies a change in functional theory. Recent re-statements of functionalism have emphasized the necessity of empirical methods for judging the degree of dysfunction in various cultural patterns,⁷ and further attention is being directed towards the description and measurement of integration. Eclectic elaboration of methods and broadening of research interests have brought new problems before the theoretician—problems in metalinguistics, psychodynamics, communication theory, the study of perception and statistical methodology. If the value concept is to serve as an integrating point over any wide range of an-

2. *E.g.*, Malinowski, 1939, pp. 946, 962.

3. C. Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 46.

4. Bateson, 1936, pp. 24-5.

5. C. Kluckhohn, 1943, p. 222.

6. C. Kluckhohn, 1951, p. 395.

7. *E.g.*, Merton, 1949, p. 51.

thropological problems, it must be carefully and repeatedly defined with an aim to such synthesis.

The concept of value has a number of properties which make it peculiarly suited to this synthetic task. Although it is analytical, it brings to the study of culture and personality processes a specifically historical dimension. It can, without major change, be assimilated to the structural theory in which such terms as pattern, configuration, theme, ethos, orientation or concrete ontology are used. It may also be employed in dynamic theory, probably with linking definitions to clarify its relationship to needs, motives, goals, attitudes and other traits, processes and structural characteristics of personality. Finally, the concept focuses attention on the integrative tendency, the "strain towards consistency" which is such a salient feature of both cultural and individual organization.

Value and cognate concepts are beginning to acquire the flexibility of usage and the elaboration and richness of definition which are necessary for the elusive and subtle problems they are required to cover. Progress in the rigor and reliability of value analysis is notably rarer and more difficult, and it is to this dimension of the value problem that I have directed my primary attention in this study.

My first concern has been to ensure that I dealt rigorously with the phenomenon of choice or selectivity which is so important to evaluative problems. It seemed to me that the fundamental question here was to guarantee that the choice be one between real alternatives, *i.e.*, that the elements compared in hypothesizing the presence of different values be truly comparable. I do not consider it rigorous to compare capriciously selected elements of Spanish American culture with elements drawn from American culture as evidence of the patent value differences between them. I wished to provide canons for selecting the elements to be compared, and I drew on functional theory to do so. Because the concept of institutions is one on

which there is some measure of agreement among scientists, I have used institutions as the units of my analysis, and have therefore described the resulting configurations as *institutional values*. I am thus seeking to document those systematic choices made by Spanish American culture which describe its social handling of the universal functional problems that center on fundamental institutions.

Having thus decided to "hold institutions constant" in a sense, I needed an element which would vary from culture to culture but which would nevertheless provide a reliable means of surveying the distinctiveness of a culture. After some consideration I selected *status*. I have used the concept with some rigor. Only those named social positions involving patterned rights and duties and major social sanctions have been included in my description of Spanish American society. Thus in my analysis a *muchacho* occupies a status because he may be corporally punished for failure to fulfill the demands of his social position. *Tonto* (fool) describes a role and a set of social attitudes, but in the absence of norms and sanctions it is not a status. A *católico* occupies a status because he may be excommunicated for being a bad Catholic. A *novio* (fiancé) occupies a status because religious sanctions may be invoked to guarantee fulfillment of his social obligations. This logic has been employed throughout, and the classification of statuses by institution has been resolved in dubious cases by close attention to the context of the relevant sanctions. "Widow" is thus primarily a religious status.

I do not believe that another investigator who elected to follow my procedures would arrive at the same words I have used to describe Spanish American values, but I do believe he would come close. Doubtless a high measure of agreement could be obtained on what social statuses exist in the New Mexican villages, and on how the villagers define them. A lower measure of agreement would be likely concerning

what social institutions are fundamental and universal, but I think there is a significant consensus here, and I believe that rigorous use of the concept of institutions *however defined* would lead an independent investigator to make approximately the comparisons I have made and to reach approximately the conclusions I have reached.

In the second part of my study, then, I have systematically compared Spanish American culture with one system of alternatives: that of Anglo American culture. The resulting value configurations are thus relative to that comparison only. A comparison with some other culture would doubtless provide new dimensions for our understanding of the Spanish Americans, but I do not think they would look altogether different.

It remains for me to describe the setting of my research. The Rimrock area lies across the continental divide in the high plateau country of northwestern New Mexico.⁸ With an average elevation of almost 7,000 feet above sea level, and lying several hundred miles from the sea, it suffers from the extremes of a continental climate but slightly tempered by the chronic aridity. Temperatures of 30° below zero and 90° above are common at different seasons. Rainfall is scanty. Most of the streams are dry except during the rainy season in late summer and during the spring thaw. The humidity is always very low. The growing season is short and irregular. In appearance, the area is one of broad, relatively flat plains interrupted by low mesas, sparsely covered with grasses and desert shrubs. On the mesas and at higher elevations throughout the area are stands of evergreens: piñon pines, junipers, and on the mountains the large ponderosa pines. This vegetation is insufficient to prevent a very considerable erosion by both water and wind. Deep gullies scar many of the valleys, and dust and sand are a major menace to unprotected

fields. The wild life of the area is abundant and varied. Deer in the mountains and coyotes and rabbits (both cottontails and jackrabbits) on the plains are especially prominent. There is little mineral wealth in the vicinity of Rimrock—a coal mine, a pumice mine, and a salt lake, all of which are operated commercially on a small scale. From the point of view of human habitation, the Rimrock area is an unpromising environment. The extremes of climate make livestock operations difficult. Agriculture, even by irrigation methods, is risky. Lumbering, mining and hunting are possible but cannot support a large population. Still, the area has a long history of human occupancy.

Scattered across the shallow valleys and mesa tops of the plateau country are the buried walls and campsites of the first pioneers of the Rimrock area. These are the remains of the earliest Pueblo⁹ occupation of the area, dating back at least to the tenth century A.D. Ancestral to the modern Pueblo Indians, these people achieved a stable agricultural economy based on the flood irrigation of corn, beans, squash and melons, and over a period of centuries established a score or more of substantial villages in the Rimrock area.

Wandering bands of Apache and Navaho Indians may have contacted these Pueblo villagers as early as 1400, but the first permanent Navaho settlements were much later, perhaps as recent as 1840. The "Rimrock People," as the local Navahos call themselves, lived in scattered households on the mountain slopes and subsisted on the produce of their dry-farming; to this economy the Spanish influence added production of sheep and the use of horses.

The Spanish first explored the Rimrock area in 1539, and from 1540 until the annexation of New Mexico Territory by the United States in 1848, many parties of Spanish and Mexican soldiers and missionaries passed through it. Permanent settlements by the Spanish Americans were

8. For an extended listing of works dealing with the Rimrock area, see Roberts, 1951, pp. vii-x, and Vogt, 1951, pp. x-xi, and see Vogt, 1955.

9. Pueblo is a pseudonym for the particular Pueblo Indian community of the Rimrock area.

impossible during the period of Spanish and Mexican domination due to frequent hostility of the Pueblo and Navaho Indians and occasional raids by the nearby Apaches. With the enforcement of the *pax americana* by the establishment of military forts in the area during the Civil War, however, Spanish American villages and *ranchitos* sprang up rapidly. San Martín was founded in 1863; La Peña in 1871; Aspera in 1872. Smaller settlements were temporarily populated and later abandoned. And into the broad valleys of the mesa country came the Spanish sheep and cattle and horses. The Spaniards did not try to farm on more than a very small scale, but turned their attention to livestock operations, and created a thriving industry, mainly in sheep. The Indians, too, began stock-raising on a larger scale; for the Navaho at least, sheep became as important as agriculture in the local economy.

Anglo American exploration of western New Mexico was initiated by wandering trappers during the first half of the nineteenth century, but was greatly stepped up by the California migrations after 1849. Large parties of immigrants passed through the Rimrock area bound for the gold fields and fertile valleys of the "golden state." No permanent settlements were made, however, until 1882, when the little Mormon village of Rimrock was founded. It was well organized and progressive. Before long a small dam was built (later enlarged) for irrigation farming, and a program was begun to convert the local Navaho. For many years Rimrock was the sole outpost of Anglo American culture in a territory the size of Connecticut.

Shortly after World War I, the first Texans began to move into the vicinity. Seeking land suitable for dry-farming, they settled down in the vicinity of La Peña. Never a very tight or a very large community, this early Texan settlement has had time to become thoroughly assimilated to the locale and the local population. About 1930, a new Texan settlement

was initiated at Homestead by farmers from the Panhandle of Texas and neighboring parts of Oklahoma.¹⁰ Over a period of years it has grown into a considerable little center, with farm homesteads scattered over an area of some 200 square miles.

The modern¹¹ population of the Rimrock area is somewhat over 5,000. Approximately 3,000 Pueblo Indians live in Pueblo Village, or at least return to it annually for the winter ceremonial season. Some 650 Navahos live in scattered hogans through the central part of the area, around La Peña. The Mormon population of about 300 is concentrated overwhelmingly in the original village of Rimrock, farther west, although a few consider themselves as living in the La Peña community. The Texan population of about 350 is principally in the vicinity of Homestead, to the south, with a few families still resident at La Peña. The general Anglo population, apart from the Mormon and Texan groups, is made up chiefly of government officials, schoolteachers, a handful of ranchers, and a small colony of Seventh Day Adventists settled at La Peña.

The Spanish American population of the Rimrock district, totaling about 750, is mainly concentrated in three communities of widely disparate size and constitution. Aspera, in the southern part of the district, is the shell of a once thriving sheep-raising village, now reduced to a somewhat fluctuating population of less than 60 people, most of them engaged in cattle or small-scale sheep operations. It contains a store (now vacant), a school (no longer used), a church (visited once a month by the mission priest from Pueblo, weather permitting), and a small cemetery on the bare hillside to the south of the village. Homestead, seven miles away, is the main shopping center, and has the nearest school. Aspera, apart from its ruined houses, presents the appearance of a typi-

10. "Texan" is an ethnic term in New Mexico, as it is to a degree in Texas and all the states around it.

11. The present tense refers to the period of field work (1949-50) except as otherwise indicated.

cal adobe-and-tin-roof Spanish American village, its houses tightly clustered in the center of a shallow, arid valley.

La Peña, probably the most cosmopolitan community in this region, is not so much a village as a large rural zone. Its center consists of a store and a school. The older Spanish American village also formerly had a store and a school, church and cemetery, some seven miles from the present center, but the store is closed, the school is used as a dwelling, and the church is visited but once a month by the mission priest. The present population of sprawling La Peña is probably around 275. Some 30 of these are Spanish American, probably another 30 Mormon, about 40 Texan, 40 Anglo, and the remainder Navaho. The Spanish American population subsists on small-scale sheep and cattle raising and even smaller-scale agriculture, plus such odd jobs and trading opportunities as turn up. With the store more or less at its geographical center, La Peña presents a remarkable residential pattern. The area within two miles of the store is mostly Texan; the Hispanos occupy the northeast quadrant of the community, the Mormons, the northwest; the southeast quadrant is Anglo (the Adventists referred to above), and the southwest Navaho. All groups participate in the loosely organized community life. At a celebration during the summer, for example, lengthy announcements were made in English, Spanish and Navaho.

The village of San Martín, with a population of about 650, is the largest and best integrated Hispano community. Only four miles from Apache, on Steinbeck's Highway 66, and 45 miles from La Peña, it is also the most sophisticated. It carries on a constant exchange of population with the Hispano half of Apache, and many of its people have part or full time employment in the neighboring city. San Martín has a grade school, three grocery stores,

two bars, a pool hall, a church, a Penitente chapel, and two rival cemeteries. It also has a number of vacant stores and warehouses, testimony to the fact that it, too, has left behind an era of greater prosperity. Two large corrals and a number of smaller ones are found within the village. In general appearance San Martín is a long line of closely spaced houses along two main streets. It huddles under the brow of a steep range of hills to the west and is pinched off by an old lava bed to the east. A spring rises on the north edge of town, furnishing water for modest irrigation and for the stock on the nearby open meadow. The meadow, the water and the stock are owned by a single family, and the only evidence of contemporary prosperity is this family's home, a large Victorian mansion with Spanish architectural overtones which dominates the north end of the village. The remaining structures convey an impression of modesty and poverty compounded of adobes, tin roofs, mud plaster, rickety gates and precarious fences.

Against this background of village and desert, in a cultural setting remarkable for its complexity, the modern society of the Spanish Americans has been formed. Conditioned by its position on New Mexico's western frontier, by its relation to the ethnic groups around it, and by the relative isolation of its location as well as its specialization in a ranching economy now rendered obsolete, this society is nonetheless only a minor variation on the social organization of northern New Mexico generally. Its general features, indeed, are intelligible as a branch of the colonial society of northern Mexico, from which it has been partly separated for almost two hundred years of its history. Spanish American society in this area is neither Mexican nor non-Mexican—neither Spanish nor indigenous. In the section that follows I will survey its organization and operation in detail.

Hispano Culture

ETHNICITY

INSISTENCE that culture areas, linguistic families and races cannot be assumed to correspond to one another has tended to obscure the ethnographic finding that cultures, languages and strains tend to coincide with consistent regularity. Our category of ethnicity corresponds to this basic unity in social identification. Cultural groups show a marked tendency towards endogamy the world over, and although similarity of language does not always mean similarity of culture, differences in language usually mean cultural differences of considerable importance.

Such universals in human social life are indicative of functional problems of an institutional order. Although anthropologists have been criticized for inadequate consideration of the nature of the units they have isolated as "cultures," they have nevertheless consistently been able to isolate such units in all parts of the world. Culture is conceptual abstraction, but cultures are in this special sense a phenomenon, and one which has been neglected. The basic functions which seem to be performed by this kind of primary grouping are those of communication, together with a general orientation to all kinds of behavior, from polite gestures to suprasegmental phonemes. There are a certain number of things which one does in a patterned way simply because of membership in a particular cultural group, and without regard to any more specific role. These are the things which we will discuss in relation to the "*Mexicano* role" under the institution of ethnicity.¹

1. For some purposes it would be important to differentiate the subculture of the rural-lower-class *Mexicano* from his urban or higher prestige fellows. In the villages I visited, however, class differentiation is relatively small and unimportant, so that it was judged more convenient to discuss Hispano culture as a unit, indicating the points at which class becomes significant, rather than making a parallel description of two class sub-cultures.

Mexicano. Being a *Mexicano* in New Mexico is a matter of race, of language, and of culture. To some degree it might also be phrased as a matter of religion. The symbols of this group membership often have great emotional content and this fact has led to considerable terminological confusion in designating the group, depending on which aspect of the role different writers wished to stress.² Often this has been a matter of avoiding the more highly charged symbols, and occasionally it has meant genuine confusion about the determinants of membership in the group. One finds such varying terms as "the Mexican race," "the Spanish-speaking people of New Mexico," "the Spanish," "the Spanish Americans," "the Mexicans," "the New Mexican Americans," "Latin Americans," and even very occasionally, "the Mexican Catholics." Actually, there is no completely satisfactory term in either Spanish or English for designating this group. The existing terms are ambiguous, ambivalent or loaded with scientifically undesirable affect.

It has often been noted that the *Mexicano* objects to being classified as a member of a racial group. It is very possible that this has roots more in the culture contact with Anglo Americans since the turn of the century than in cultural attitudes of longer standing. It is, however, only partly true. The fact is that *Mexicanos* throughout the Southwest identify themselves with pride as members of *la raza*. Analytically, it is very difficult to classify the group racially. The variation in physical type is large, overlapping the distributions of Anglo, Indian, and occasionally even Negro physical types,³ and the group

2. For a particularly good discussion of this point see introduction in Campa, 1946.

3. In the relatively rare cases of Hispano-Negro intermarriage, the children are accepted as *Mexicanos* if other (cultural and linguistic) patterns are clearly Hispano.

includes individuals who are genetically indistinguishable from these as well as the Mediterranean sub-race of the Iberian peninsula with which it identifies itself.⁴ However, despite the inadequacy of physical indices in circumscribing this situation, the Mexicanos do constitute a relatively distinct physical strain. In broad terms it is a mixture of the Caucasian and Mongoloid (American Indian) races, but the mating has not been random and is not now. There is at present no satisfactory way of assessing the relative importance of the strains which went into the present genetic composition of the Mexicano group in New Mexico, but the following are known to have contributed to varying degrees, approximately in the order named:

European Spanish: probably including some Moorish admixture, but of a general Mediterranean type.

Mexican Indian: Mongoloid.

Anglo American: Caucasoid, principally of western European origin.

New Mexican Indian: Mongoloid, possibly slightly different from the Indian strain of central Mexico.

In modern New Mexico the randomness of race mixture is inhibited by a general pattern of "racial" endogamy which tends to stabilize the various strains in the population.⁵ That this endogamy is only a tendency is conclusively demonstrated by the very considerable amount of intermarriage which continues to take place. From 1930-1940 one marriage out of every twelve or thirteen recorded in Albuquerque was an Anglo-Hispano marriage.⁶ It would be an exaggeration to call this a caste situation, even though a tendency towards "racial" endogamy does exist. It might be equally

plausible to relate the facts to the pattern of religious endogamy which exists as a tendency in American culture as a whole. This is not to say that racial attitudes and prejudices do not enter into the picture or even dominate it within certain limits, but the situation in New Mexico lacks many of the determinants of true caste. The endogamy is only a tendency; the implications of ritual impurity and resulting spatial segregation are even less general; the hierarchy of the groups is blurred, especially in politics and economics.⁷

The question of the degree to which the Mexicanos constitute a "racial" group in New Mexico is only partly a matter of physical anthropology. Both the Mexicanos and the Anglos consider themselves as racially distinct, and both groups are much more concerned with their popular view of race than with any analytic or scientific conception of it. However, where the Anglo generally assumes that an individual either belongs to the "White race" or doesn't (and that the "Mexican," as opposed to the "Spaniard," doesn't), the Mexicanos take a rather more liberal view.⁸ A person with one Anglo and one Mexicano parent is called a *coyote*; a person with one Anglo grandparent is a *lobo*.⁹ These terms are essentially derogatory, but they are seldom used, and the position of an individual on this scale is not taken very seriously. In general, a person who is part Anglo is much more freely accepted by the Mexicanos than is a "half-breed" by the Anglos. Persons of mixed ancestry are incorporated into the group by the Mexicanos; they are excluded, at least in part, by the Anglos.

By far the most common term used by the Spanish Americans of New Mexico to identify themselves is the word *mexicano*.

4. For studies of the physical anthropology of the Mexican people in the United States, see Paschal and Sullivan, 1925; Moss and Kennedy, 1929; Goldstein, 1943; Kelly, 1947. These studies represent a sampling of Texas and Arizona Mexicans, and caution should be used in generalizing from them to the somewhat different New Mexico population.

5. The strong and long-standing tendency towards community endogamy in certain areas has created "strains" or local groups of considerable phenotypic homogeneity, but even in isolated areas this pattern, too, is breaking down. There is no observable tendency towards village endogamy in the villages involved in the present study, although there is evidence that the tendency persists as an "ideal pattern" and tends to be an important, even though secondary, behavioral mode.

6. See Zeleny, 1944, p. 330 ff.

7. See Zeleny, 1944.

8. The term *raza* is liberally used in Spanish to denominate culture groupings. The difference in cultural viewpoint here seems to impregnate the very semantics of the cognate words.

9. This is an interesting adaptation of terms used in colonial New Spain to designate degrees of Indian admixture of the *castas* to an entirely new contact situation. Literally *coyote* is, of course, coyote; *lobo* is wolf.

As Campa has noted,¹⁰ this term can only approximately be translated as "Mexican," since the English word has pejorative overtones which the Spanish one typically lacks. In New Mexico, however, as a result of inter-group tensions, even this word becomes ambivalent, and although it is used within the group with considerable freedom, it may mean "New Mexican" and "us" one minute and "Old Mexican" and "them" the next.¹¹ As will be seen from the accompanying table, the ambiguous "middle" position occupied by Spanish culture in New Mexico is faithfully reflected in a relatively elaborate terminology for designating the group in Spanish and English. The terms which the Mexicanos use to identify themselves are:

español, "Spanish;" more common among higher status people.

gente española, "Spanish people;" rather pretentious.

gente mexicana, "Mexican people;" the term *la gente* by itself is the more common abbreviation; *la raza* would also seem to imply *mexicana*; these terms are more or less "polite usage" and are used with pride.

hispanoamericano, "Spanish American;" essentially neutral in feeling tone; occasionally shortened to *hispano*.

mexicano, "Mexican;" not truly neutral but highly ambivalent; the most common term, especially with people who also identify themselves as *los pobres*, "the poor."

manito, "Little Brother;" an abbreviation of *hermanito*; slightly pejorative; used by Old Mexicans in referring to New Mexicans.

surumato, the reciprocal of *manito*; pejorative term used by New Mexicans and others to refer to immigrants from Old Mexico; said to come from a *hacienda* called Suruma or Zurumate in Michoacan.¹²

pachuco, derivation uncertain; pejorative term for young men, especially the "zoot-suiters" of California, but applied indiscriminately in New Mexico to boys from the cities, from California, or even from other nearby villages.¹³

cholo, pejorative term for Mexican immigrants, used by long-term Mexican residents in many parts of the Southwest; not heard in New Mexico.¹⁴

pocho, pejorative term used in Mexico for "Americanized" Mexicans; not used in New Mexican dialect.¹⁵

The terms which the Mexicanos use to designate the Anglos are:

americano, "American;" despite its ambiguity, this is the most common form, and from it are derived the Navaho and Pueblo words for "white man."

blanco, "White man;" this is very rarely heard, but it and related forms such as *gente blanca*, "white people," are occasionally used.

anglo, "Anglo American;" this term is used much more commonly in New Mexico than elsewhere in the Southwest; it is approximately neutral in feeling tone.

gringo, "Foreigner;" apparently derived from old Spanish usage of *griego*, "Greek," for any foreigner; by far the most common of the pejorative forms.

gabacho, "Foreign;" "Frenchified;" originally applied to the Gallicized area of Spain near the Pyrenees, but used in New Mexico to designate any out-group European.

bolillo, "Paleface;" in New Mexico this is a pejorative term for Anglos and is explained in terms of color; at least one writer derives the usage from the term used in Mexico to mean "French rolls."¹⁶

Among the threads which run throughout this terminology, the conception of "racial" difference is very important, but this is by no means simply a system of racial classification.

The persistence of the Spanish language among the New Mexico Mexicanos is of immense importance in comparing them with other ethnic minorities in the United States. One frequently encounters the designation "Spanish-speaking people" as a polite usage term for the Mexicanos, a type of usage which is understandably rare

10. See Campa, 1946.

11. Because of its common use, the term *Mexicano* will be used in this study to refer to the role of the native New Mexican, with all the ambiguity of reference which that implies. The term *Hispano* is used throughout to refer to the specifically New Mexican Spanish-speaking population and its culture in contrast to those of Old Mexico. The term has the advantage, despite its relative obscurity, of being brief, more or less affectively neutral, and parallel to the widespread New Mexican usage "Anglo" for Anglo Americans.

12. See Gamio, 1930, p. 233.

13. McWilliams, 1949, p. 242.

14. McWilliams, 1949, pp. 89, 209. The word *chicano* is also used for this in Border Spanish.

15. McWilliams, 1949, p. 209.

16. Gamio, 1930, p. 233.

in relation to other American minority groups. As is commonly the case with linguistically distinct cultural groups, the Mexicanos tend to identify themselves in part as a linguistic group as well as a racial one. It is true that in rare cases one finds individuals who are culturally or racially Hispano without being able to speak Spanish, and in an even larger number of cases one finds persons from other groups who are essentially bilingual and able to speak fluent Spanish. It is also the case, however, that the lines of cultural division tend to become blurred in such cases.¹⁷ In fact the connection in the mind of the Hispanos between linguistic and cultural unity is so close that references to their language as *mexicano* rather than *español* are by no means infrequent.¹⁸

The Spanish language spoken in the greater Southwest (Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, Southern California and the northern states of Mexico) may be divided roughly into four major dialects: Mexican, Border Spanish, New Mexican and Pachuco. Mexican is the dialect of Spanish spoken in the central part of the Mexican Republic. It is represented in the Border area by the large numbers of relatively recent immigrants and older people who were born and reared in central Mexico. As a dialect, Mexican differs only slightly from Castilian in phonetic terms,¹⁹ but it draws a considerable part of its vocabulary directly from Nahuatl and has diverged quite markedly from Castilian with respect to vocabulary in consequence of that fact.²⁰ All of the other dialects in use on the border are to a very large extent derived from Mexican. None of them deviates phonetically from Mexican in any major respect. None has

been significantly affected by further contact with local Indian languages. Border Spanish differs from Mexican in its relatively wholesale incorporation of English words. This tendency is observable in Mexican as a distinctly minor mode, but the existence of large scale bilingualism in the border area has made it natural that English and Spanish should "corrupt" each other to a considerable degree. That this process is more than merely mixing words from the two languages may be seen by examining the large number of words which have been naturalized into Spanish, receiving standardized forms which deviate from the English in order to fit the Spanish patterns of word-formation.²¹ Border Spanish is essentially the language of the Spanish Americans of Southern California, Arizona, Southern New Mexico, Texas, and Northern Mexico.

New Mexican is the dialect of the Hispanos. Due to the long period of historical isolation of the New Mexican villages, it exhibits a number of archaisms which have disappeared from both Mexican and Castilian, but which existed in the Spanish of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although many Hispanos tend to pride themselves on the purity of their Spanish, their dialect clearly embodies a large part of the Nahuatl vocabulary of Mexican. Until recently there has been very little borrowing of English words, but this is undoubtedly on the increase and is narrowing the difference between New Mexican and Border Spanish. There is clear evidence that some words have been independently borrowed by Border Spanish and New Mexican.²² New Mexican is spoken in central and northern New Mexico.

Pachuco is a highly specialized, age-graded dialect which originated among the teen-age boys of Los Angeles in the late

17. It was primarily on linguistic grounds that I was often called a *Mexicano* or *coyote* by people who were perfectly aware that I was Anglo.

18. Also noted by Ruth Tuck in California (1946).

19. Notably in pronouncing *c* and *z* as sibilant *s*, equating *ll* with *y*, and reversing the sound of *j* and *g* so that the former equates with English *h* to a considerable degree, and the latter with German *ch*.

20. Standard Spanish-English dictionaries accept Americanisms with some reluctance. The recent "University of Chicago Spanish Dictionary" makes a particularly systematic attempt to include them. See Castillo and Bond, 1948.

21. For example, *mecha* for match. The same process may be observed in words taken from Spanish into English: Dolly welter, for example, from *dale vuelta*.

22. For example, *truck*, which is masculine (*troque*) in Border Spanish, and feminine (*troca*) in New Mexican.

1930's or early 1940's and has since spread over a considerable part of the Southwest in more or less attenuated form. Pachuco tends to draw heavily on English, and rather less on Mexican (mostly certain rare suffixes), but a considerable part of its distinctive vocabulary is composed of words which were apparently just made up. Even the words with apparent English or Spanish antecedents are frequently used with special, extravagantly twisted meanings. In its most elaborate form, Pachuco alone among the Southwestern dialects approaches unintelligibility from the point of view of general Spanish.²³ Essentially an adolescent revolt, its distribution is limited to the cities with large Spanish American populations, where it has gone hand-in-hand with the zoot-suit and with the breakdown of family social controls. Its special vocabulary was probably never more than 100-200 words.²⁴

New Mexico is the only area of the Southwest in which the old resident population has not been engulfed in the stream of immigration from Mexico during the twentieth century. This is reflected in the preservation of its distinct dialect against the tide of Mexican and Border Spanish which has swept into the other Southwestern states. Thus there is some linguistic basis for the Hispano claim to a distinct cultural existence apart from that of the Mexican immigrants. It should be emphasized nonetheless that while the dialectic differences outlined above are easily recognizable even in brief conversations, they in no sense impair the mutual intelligibility of all of these dialects or, for that matter, their intelligibility to other speakers of Spanish the world over. Spanish remains analytically a single language des-

pite a considerable degree of dialect differentiation.²⁵

Rather than try to include all of the cultural patterns which belong to the status and role of the Mexicano, I shall give some coverage to the most important insofar as they are primary symbols of group membership. For any given occupant of the status of Mexicano, many of these patterns are potential rather than actual; Mexicano children, for example, are no doubt only minimally aware of such aspects of adult culture as technology, literary forms, and theology. Even for adults, there are always alternative patterns which may be part of the cultural knowledge of only some individuals.

The Roman Catholic religion is a tremendously important assemblage of patterns in Hispano culture, and a large part of Catholic culture has become identified in varying degree with the Mexicano role. The explicit pattern of religious-group endogamy has been a major factor in restricting intermarriage between Mexicanos and members of other cultural groups, and has further channeled much of the intermarriage which does take place.²⁶ But beyond this the symbolism and teachings of the Catholic Church have become firmly imbedded in Mexicano culture, giving form and meaning to everything from kinship obligations to the economic system, and from death to swearing.

Catholic culture and Hispano culture are not coterminous. From the theological point of view much of the Hispano allegiance to the Church is only nominal, and even the most cursory comparison of Irish and Spanish Catholicism is sufficient to impress one with the wide difference between them. Catholic theology contains many elements which are foreign or sometimes even opposed to the basic orientations of Hispano culture. The accommoda-

23. See Gamio, 1930, pp. 231-4, for a brief list of *pachuquismos*; Barker, 1950, has an extended discussion of the dialect.

24. Mention should also be made of *cifra*, the New Mexican Pig Latin. A friend from Tomé, New Mexico, informed me that this was created by inserting *f* and reduplicating the vowel at the end of each syllable in the Spanish word. For example "*¿Como, esta Usted?*" would be, "*¿Cofomofa efestafa ufustefed?*" For a brief account of this in the vicinity of Las Vegas, New Mexico, see Zunser, 1935, p. 147.

25. It is not uncommon to find Hispanos in New Mexico who claim to be unable to understand Border Spanish. This is to be related to the social myth of the "Spanish heritage" and not to the linguistic facts.

26. Mexican-Irish marriages are particularly common, for example.

tion between general Catholic and general Spanish culture is one which has evolved during the course of centuries of the interaction and integration of the two systems. A considerable amalgamation of patterns has indeed taken place, but the two systems have continued to have some degree of separate existence. This relative independence is quite marked in New Mexico, even in comparison with other Latin American areas. The Penitente brotherhood continues as an important force in a great many of the rural villages of New Mexico despite the indifference or dogged opposition of the Catholic clergy. Since 1848 only a very small part of the clergy of New Mexico has been drawn from the local population or from Latin America. Most of the priests at the present time are Anglo American, Irish, German and French. Hispano church attendance shows close similarities to the general American pattern; that is, the faithful are largely the women and children, and a large part of the population attends church only for the great festivals of the church calendar—Easter, Christmas, and the day of the patron saint of the town. Hispano culture has taken full advantage of the flexible areas of Catholic patterns, developing its own interpretations of the position and significance of the saints, and enriching the ritual and symbolism of the church with its folklore and handicraft and architectural styles. Parish organization in the villages follows an Hispano rather than a Catholic pattern. Thus, in the contact of the Catholic Church with Spanish culture, and more particularly with New Mexico Hispano culture, both the Church and the Hispanos have changed, attaining some degree of integration of patterns, but remaining in significant respects distinct entities.

Although the rural villagers are overwhelmingly Catholic, there is also an important thread of religious independence and even apostasy in New Mexican history. In addition to the Penitente movement, there have been local schisms, usually called "Protestant," on repeated

occasions.²⁷ The Aleluyas of northern New Mexico are but the most recent of such rebels.²⁸

So rich and pervasive is the symbolism of the Spanish Catholic church that it takes on a matter-of-fact familiarity which seems strange or even mildly shocking to a Protestant.²⁹ Conversation in the politest society is punctuated by appeals to God and the saints. Typical of the many idioms of this type are the following:

<i>¡San Antón!</i>	<i>By St. Anthony!</i>
<i>¡Santa María, madre de Dios!</i>	<i>Holy Mary, Mother of God!</i>
<i>¡Por Dios!</i>	<i>God bless us!</i>
<i>¡Por amor de Dios!</i>	<i>For the love of Heaven!</i>
<i>¡Válgame Dios!</i>	<i>God be my witness!</i>
<i>¡Dios Mío!</i>	<i>My Lord!</i>
<i>¡Por Dios y los Santos!</i>	<i>By God and the Saints!</i>
<i>¡Dios se lo pague!</i>	<i>May God repay you!</i>
<i>Si quiera Dios.</i>	<i>God willing.</i>
<i>Quiera Dios que . . .</i>	<i>God grant that . . .</i>
<i>Vaya con Dios.</i>	<i>God be with you.</i>
<i>A ver que Dios nos da.</i>	<i>We'll see what God brings.</i>
<i>Si Dios nos preste vida . . .</i>	<i>If God grant us life to . . .</i>

The God of the Mexicanos is clearly not as touchy about blasphemy as the Protestant God usually is. He may be more distant and more vague than the nearest available saint but does not seem to be entirely awesome and unapproachable. He is called on constantly. God is most commonly addressed as "father" in ritual, of course, but there are indications that He is thought of more as a grandfather figure, with the corresponding attributes of vague authority, distance and kindliness.³⁰ The

27. San Martín traces its founding to such a schism, and refers to its oldest settlers as "Protestants," though they had no connection with any previously existing Protestant sect.

28. The statements here made about Hispano religious homogeneity apply primarily to the rural areas. In the towns and cities of New Mexico there have been proselytizing campaigns by many of the Protestant sects, and some have been moderately successful.

29. Such as the occasion when a Mexicano friend informed me, after I had stripped to long-handled underwear in preparation for bed, that I "looked like Jesus," standing there thin and undressed.

30. God is occasionally called *tata* ("grandpa"), a usage widespread among half-acculturated Mexican Indian tribes, and possibly also used in instructing children.

father figure in Hispano hagiology is just as likely to be the village saint, who is rarely mentioned in secular conversation.

The material culture of the Mexicanos changed very slowly from the time of the Mexican Cession to the First World War. This has been attributed to isolation and traditionalism,³¹ but the opportunity for significant change did not come until the flood of Anglo immigration had begun to revolutionize New Mexico's economy, a development which became really significant only after the turn of the century, and the Americanization of Mexicano life has throughout taken place in the face of grinding poverty. As a result of the development of public school education and the sweeping economic changes wrought by the building of the railroads and the gradual integration of New Mexico into the American market economy, the traditional New Mexican folk attitudes towards science and technology have changed remarkably. In many areas of New Mexico there is a great deal of technological "backwardness," but there are very few areas indeed which have not been reached to some degree by the various government planning agencies of the thirties or the twentieth-century science taught in the public schools. In the Rimrock area there are at present only vestiges of the Hispano ethno-sciences, and the technological patterns of the Anglos are increasingly replacing the old Hispano techniques. The Americanization of science and technology among the Mexicanos has reached an advanced stage in this area. Further change depends in part on a solution of some of the economic problems facing the group.

The extreme isolation of New Mexico during the entire period of Spanish and Mexican administration has made it a happy hunting ground for all manner of cultural survivals. In spite of considerable change, this is still true in varying degrees for all aspects of the culture, and science is no exception. New Mexico's early

Spanish settlers had access to the science of the European world of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but their actual knowledge of scientific theories was principally derived from the folk beliefs of Mexico and Spain as they existed in that period, and these beliefs did not change significantly during the period in which New Mexico's colonial population was largely recruited. In consequence, the Mexicanos had and to some extent continue to have a largely taxonomic knowledge of nature, relatively unsystematic, and oriented primarily to the pragmatic meaning of different aspects of nature to man.

There is a rudimentary ethnoastronomy, involving names for at least the major constellations. Most Mexicanos have access to a Spanish-language almanac giving the phases of the moon, the day-signs of the zodiac, the times of sunrise and sunset, church calendar and regional weather predictions for the year, but there seems to be little or no astrological or astronomical interest in this. The scientific explanations of planetary motion and the conception that the earth is round are known but are not subjects of much interest either. Ethnogeography is similarly of relatively little importance. The Mexicanos are aware of the directions and are extremely familiar with local geography within New Mexico. Outside the state, many have visited Arizona and a few have been to California, Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming. They have some knowledge of Mexico, and of the major regions and cities of the United States, and some idea of the general position of the important foreign nations, but the positions of these more distant places relative to each other are comprehended only vaguely, even by some of the ex-servicemen who have been through them. Ethnogeology is undeveloped.³² New Mexico's

32. Carey McWilliams (1949, p. 133-61) has rightly emphasized the tremendous importance of Mexican know-how in the development of all the basic industries of the arid Southwest: mining, irrigation agriculture, and stockraising. This was, however, almost entirely a matter of techniques rather than of scientific knowledge of geology, agronomy or animal husbandry. For an excellent treatment of colonial Spanish mining methods, for example, see West, 1949.

31. See for example F. Kluckhohn, 1941; Leonard and Loomis, 1941; Walter, 1938.

mining industry dates almost entirely from the advent of the Anglos: few if any Mexicans in the Rimrock area know anything about ores or mining processes. The Mexican ethnozoology is relatively complete and important. This is understandable, since this field has important bearing on daily life. It is further understandable that the primary differentiae are pragmatic matters—the utility of given classes of animals to man, their dangerousness, the habits they have which affect man's manner of handling them.

The most important folk science of the Hispanos is ethnobotany and its applied branch, folk medicine.³³ It is difficult to draw precise lines here, because many of the local herbs and other plant products used in curing are of unknown scientific value. Furthermore, the practice of curing is so intertwined with witchcraft beliefs that it is difficult to isolate the interpretations of natural phenomena from those of the supernatural. Still, there is a very considerable lore regarding the medical properties of New Mexico plants and their proper use as purgatives, emetics, infusions, salves, and so on, which may in part be based on empirical data. It is possible that some, or even most, of this lore is derived from the New Mexico Indians. In addition to this medical knowledge, Hispanos have considerable familiarity with the local species of trees as a source of building material and firewood, and of the local grasses as pasturage. In general, such independent science as exists in Hispano culture is largely in ethnozoology, ethnobotany and medicine, and even this is an aspect of the culture which is rapidly disappearing as Hispano children become educated in Anglo schools and Hispanos generally become incorporated into the specialized employment structure of Anglo culture. European twentieth-century physical and chemical theory are replacing folk explanations of phenomena. Some tendency exists to explain any-

thing not otherwise understandable to the science of Hispano culture by invoking the vague direction of God, but this tendency is being reduced. Formerly there was little interest in such speculation, but the theoretical superstructure and dramatic applications of modern science are undoubtedly very important factors in the acculturation, urbanization and secularization of Hispano culture.

No elaborate technology could be built on the basis of the rudimentary Hispano science, so it is no surprise to find that the technology was relatively simple. It was, however, admirably adapted to the physical environment in which it found itself. Irrigation farming of corn, wheat, chili, beans, and some fruits and vegetables was the mainstay of life in the river valley. Elsewhere sheep and cattle could be grazed profitably on the open range. Other domestic animals of economic importance were goats, pigs, and chickens and the all-important horse, who was, with the mule and the donkey, the true *conquistador* of the vast distances and impossible topography of Spanish America. Secondary, but still important to New Mexico's largely self-sufficient economy were the plants and animals which were utilized without domestication. Buffalo, deer and rabbit were hunted, and the yucca cactus, pine, juniper, oak, mesquite, piñon pipe, and various roots and herbs were used for various purposes. Water was obtained from natural springs or by diverting the flood waters of the Rio Grande and its intermittent tributaries. Salt was derived from natural deposits within the state.

In the Rimrock area, the Hispanos do almost no farming. Those who have not been absorbed into the Anglo job market raise sheep and cattle, but only a vanishing minority employ exclusively the traditional technology. All have had to accommodate themselves to the fencing of the range and the conditions of the Anglo market. The Hispano villages are in no sense self-sufficient. Most food and clothing is

33. A comprehensive summary of the Hispano medical botany is to be found in Curtin, 1947.

purchased from stores out of the profits of stock-raising or wage work. Most new houses, at least in the Rimrock area, are constructed in Anglo styles. Transportation has been almost completely mechanized. By and large it is only in matters of diet that the Hispano material culture continues to differ consistently from that of the neighboring Anglos. The exact nature of this difference is commonly misunderstood, but there is sufficient awareness of it to make chili (and to a lesser extent tortillas and beans) an important symbol of group identification both for the Mexicanos and for the other local groups. The Mexicanos are not only aware of this; they are extremely sensitive about it, and one's attitude towards chili takes on an exaggerated importance out of all proportion to the position of chili in Mexicano life.³⁴ It may be that there is no single trait of material culture which is so highly charged with emotion as this one. Except for the replacement of corn by wheat as a staple, there has been astonishingly little change in the Hispano diet since early colonial times, even when one considers the methods of food preparation in some detail.

Except in the matter of diet, the Americanization of Mexicano life in its material aspects has been very thorough-going. Dress follows the Western-cowboy style for men and the slightly more general style of print dresses with socks or silk stockings for women. The gay fiesta dress of the *charro* (Mexican "typical" cowboy) and the lacy *mantillas* (Spanish shawls) are now worn only occasionally by professional entertainers or in the fiesta parades of Albuquerque and Santa Fe. Mexicano handicraft products are far more likely to be found in Anglo than in Hispano homes. The old Mexicano *santos* (images of the saints) now rest in museums and private collections, their place in the churches having been taken by Anglo figurines of east-

ern United States manufacture. Spanish-style architecture is the dominant fad of Anglo home-builders, while the Mexicanos strive to approximate the abandoned Anglo frame and brick construction. The villages of the Rimrock area still contain many old houses of the flat-roofed, mud-plastered Pueblo type, but these are fast giving way to gabled roofs, screened doors and windows, and frame construction, despite a certain amount of sentimental feeling about the old styles.

Although the folk arts have virtually disappeared from the inventory of Hispano culture, the folk literature, and especially the song tradition, remains very much alive and active. The folk plays produced in central and northern New Mexico are no longer played in the Rimrock area. The composition of *coplas* (brief poems for recitation rather than for singing) has died out. Folk tales, riddles and proverbs are rarely heard. But the singing and even composition of folk songs is still an important cultural activity. There is some tendency on the part of the Anglos to view "Spanish music" as quaint and picturesque, and this aspect of the culture is received with a rather amused tolerance. In the early days of the Anglo immigration, it was not uncommon for the pioneers to become Mexicanized, at least to the point where they understood some of the Hispano customs and spoke some Spanish.³⁵ This is no longer the case, with the result that "Spanish music" is a rather ambiguous symbol of group identity. For the Mexicano it emphasizes the tie to the past and the traditional values of his culture, and the gaiety of the occasions when songs are sung. For the Anglo it tends to be just another activity of this "simple" and "childlike" people, an example of their shiftlessness and unconcern with "practical" matters. Mexicano music at the present time is a blend of local traditions with the more sophisticated productions of

34. I was asked rather anxiously whether I liked chili on every occasion of my first meal with a family, without exception!

35. This point is well made with regard to the early days on the Texas border in González, 1930, p. 81.

Mexico City's Tin Pan Alley. One can follow the approximate importance of the Mexicano population from one locality to another in New Mexico and from one public place to another within the town by watching the proportion of Anglo or Hispano music on the juke boxes. The most popular songs during the period of this study were typical:

- Por tu culpa* (It's Your Fault)
La múcura (The Water Jar)
Tú, solo tú (You, Only You)
Amorcito corazón (Beloved Heart)
Valentín de la sierra (Valentine of the Mountains)

One could easily make a separate study of the value implications of the very extensive folk literature represented in the New Mexico Hispano songs. A tremendous amount of the collecting, and even some of the analysis has already been done.³⁶ This is certainly an area of cultural florescence in Hispano culture.

There is a marked difference between the secular and the sacred music, and though the styles overlap to some extent, particularly in the adoption of religious symbols in secular music, there is a considerable difference in attitudes towards them. Secular music is sung mostly by men and always with great enthusiasm; sacred music is sung principally by the women, with immense piety but little zest. The secular style is very flexible and subject to constant innovation; the religious style is rigidly traditional. The milieu of the sacred songs is the mass, the procession, the *velorio*; the milieu of the secular song is the dance.

The importance of the periodic *baile* (dance) in Hispano culture can scarcely be overestimated. It is the single traditional occasion which brings the entire community together as a secular group. It is classically the only permitted context for courtship, the only situation in which the sexes may mingle with some freedom

in public. There are thus two important reasons for a greatly heightened emotional excitement at Hispano dances: community solidarity, and interaction of the sexes. The baile is the secular representation of the *campanilismo* represented in the religious sphere by parish unity. It is essentially a gathering of *one* community, and "intruders," including Mexicanos from neighboring communities, are resented. Since a stranger is universally given a generous welcome, it should be noted that this resentment is largely covert, and it seems likely that it is to be related to the other major emotional factor in the baile situation—sexual jealousy. Given some tendency towards community endogamy and the small populations of the villages, young men from other villages constitute a direct sexual competition for the relatively few marriageable girls, and the result is a very high incidence of violence at bailes, almost invariably involving young men from outside the village. This in turn tends to support the community solidarity, giving rise to common suspicions and stereotypes of the people from other villages as *pachucos*, chronic delinquents given to violence and other misdemeanors.³⁷ It is no wonder that the baile became a matter of a specific code of almost ritualized behavior. The invitation to dance was quite formal; dancing too often (as many as three times!) with the same girl was tantamount to announcing engagement, and was inexcusable behavior with another man's wife; a girl should *never* turn down an invitation to dance—to do so was to expose the boy to intolerable ridicule for his failure in the sexual competition; girls must be chaperoned by members of their immediate family, preferably male members capable of giving her real physical protection—the family honor was too important to be intrusted to the slightly casual protection which non-relatives might be expected to

36. See particularly Campa, 1946.

37. It is interesting in this connection that occasionally other towns have a reputation for witchcraft. In the Rimrock area this allegation is heard with regard to at least one nearby village. It is reported (Zunser, 1935, p. 135) that Albuquerque has this reputation in Hot Springs.

render. In the Rimrock area, as elsewhere, the extreme formalism of this pattern has begun to break down. Furthermore, the enthusiastic consumption of beer, whisky and wine at dances constitutes an additional threat to the peace of the occasion. Violence at the dances continues to increase as the various patterns for its control—the rigid sex code, the family ties, and the traditional hospitality—give way to urban mobility and the American dating complex.³⁸

The system of legal sanctions on which a considerable part of Mexicano behavior is dependent is the Anglo American code embodied in the United States and New Mexico Constitutions, the statutes of the state and federal legislatures and the regulations of the city, county, state and federal governmental agencies. The *system* of law enforcement is Anglo even though Mexicanos may serve as sheriff, policeman, etc. The Hispanos occupy no special legal position, as do the Indians or even the immigrant Mexicans; they are simply American citizens, with all of the rights and protection which that status implies, but also with the selective lack of protection which American law institutionalizes, particularly in the economic sphere. In two principal respects, however, there is special legal recognition of the cultural distinctness of the Hispanos: (1) The Spanish language is coordinate with English as the legal language of the state for publication of all kinds of legal notices or conduct of legal business, including the sessions of the State Legislature, and (2) the Spanish and Mexican land grants have been recognized at law and form the basis for a considerable percentage of the land titles in the state.

38. The importance of the Sunday afternoon movie in relation to the changing patterns of sex relations can scarcely be overestimated. Typically, the boys and girls go to the show separately, meeting there, and enjoying the unique opportunity of talking and holding hands in the darkness inside. From this it is only a step to escorting the girl home and starting to "date"—a step which is taken with increasing frequency. Movies have been very important as contexts for courtship in all the towns where they are held regularly. They are, of course, not available in the rural villages.

Besides these specific provisions there is a more diffuse influence of Spanish law in such legal arrangements as the "community property" law, the basic water-rights code, certain aspects of mining law,³⁹ and such distinctive types of contract as the *partido* system of tenant-sheep-herding.⁴⁰ Furthermore, certain of the unique arrangements of Anglo law have tended to preserve rather than to destroy certain aspects of Hispano culture. The provisions for religious freedom and for democratic self-government have left the Mexicano free to improvise his own cultural solutions to some of his problems.

Continued existence of a strong upper class governing clique among the Hispanos has added muscle to these provisions of Anglo law and procured in general the appointment of Mexicano officials in Mexicano towns, a feature of tremendous importance.⁴¹ The result is that while intergroup legal problems almost invariably wind up in an Anglo court, often no proceedings would be instituted for in-group cases, but rather some kind of customary out-of-court settlement would be made. This tendency for Hispano custom to take the place of Anglo law is decreasing, but there is evidence that in certain types of cases even major crimes may be dealt with outside the courts. Cases of race violence, especially between Texans and Hispanos, are often kept out of court, as are most of the cases of discriminatory practices.⁴² Dance-hall brawls are customarily ignored by "the law." The threat of inter-family feuds and possible vengeance is probably more of a deterrent to sex crimes than is the legal process.⁴³

Although the major sanctions are structured by Anglo law (contract, fines,

39. For a discussion of the impact of Spanish on American law, see McWilliams, 1949.

40. See Morris, 1937; Charles, 1940.

41. This is emphasized in Zeleny, 1944.

42. It is interesting in this connection that the local Hispanos are barred from the Pueblo dances, and cases are reported in which Hispano intruders were seized and imprisoned overnight or forcibly ejected from the Pueblo village.

43. In a case of statutory rape occurring in Aspera in 1950, Anglo law was invoked; in two cases of murder fifteen or twenty years earlier, it was not.

awards, imprisonment, death), two sanctions left relatively unstructured by the law are very important to the persistent distinctiveness of the Hispano social system: corporal punishment of minor children, and ostracism.

In sum, the Mexicano role is defined by a degree of homogeneity of race, language, religion, technology, literature and law. The various pattern assemblages assimilated by a Mexicano *qua* Mexicano have been surveyed, including those governing intermarriage with other groups, expressions of group solidarity in dialect, standards of politeness and canons of profanity, religious knowledge and lore, diet, work patterns, folk songs, and legal usages. The emphasis here is on those patterns which characterize or affect the behavior of all Mexicanos, eliminating patterns which they share with Anglos as a result of either acculturation or their common European background, and ignoring patterns that are institutionalized in relation to the more specific roles of the Hispano social system. We will now turn to these more specific roles.⁴⁴

AGE

Niño. The bearing of children is considered as entirely natural by Hispano women, but it is also very dangerous. Maternal and infant mortality of New Mexico Spanish Americans are the highest in the nation. Large families are the rule, but one rarely finds an older woman with several children who has not lost one or two babies. In many areas midwives (*parteras*), rather than doctors, are in attendance at most births.⁴⁵ There exists a fairly

extensive body of folk customs and beliefs for the care of expectant and recently delivered mothers. Some of this lore is relatively widespread, but most of it is the special knowledge of the professional *parteras*.

Traditionally, for 40 days to six weeks after delivery the mother observed certain restrictions on her activity, wearing a wide, tight sash, and eating special foods. The baby began nursing on about the third day, having been fed dilute animal milk, manzanilla tea, warm water with a little sugar in it, etc., in the meantime. Wet-nursing is extremely rare. "Americanization" of these practices has been almost complete.

Childhood training is very permissive. Families are large, and there are always other siblings or other relatives to cater to the child's wants. Weaning is usually early but gradual, commonly being forced by the imminent arrival of a younger sibling. Toilet training is slower. With the acquisition of language, there is a gradual acquisition of small household tasks. Childhood, however, remains relatively free from frustrations and deprivations.⁴⁶

The Hispano child is principally socialized in the context of the nuclear family, but a considerable part of his learning takes place in relation to the community at large, which tends to be treated as a generalized kind of family. Only in extreme cases does the community as such undertake the care of an orphaned or neglected child, but the child learns early that he owes respect and obedience to all his seniors in the village whether they are related to him or not. In some cases he may be physically punished for failure to understand this premise; on the other hand he is given a considerable amount of protection from outsiders and natural dangers by his fellow villagers.

A considerable part of what is specific to modern Hispano culture is learned by

44. A number of community and specialized studies, made in various parts of New Mexico, have been utilized for comparative materials throughout the descriptive part of this study in a manner too diffuse for detailed documentation. Principal among these studies are those of: El Cerrito (Leonard and Loomis, 1941); Guadalupe (Walter, 1938); Hot Springs (Zunser, 1935); Manzano (Hurt, 1941); San Jose (Moore, 1947; Sjoberg, 1947; Waggoner, 1941); Taos (Sanchez, 1940); Tewa Basin (Anonymous, 1935); and Villanueva (Anonymous, 1938a, 1938b).

45. Local statistics are not available, but a careful study made at Ranchos de Taos shows that over 70 per cent of the Spanish American births in Taos County from 1938 to 1942 were attended only by midwives. For a general treatment of maternity care see Eerden, 1948.

46. For discussions of Hispano socialization see Hawley and Senter, 1946, pp. 138-9; Senter, 1945, pp. 35-7.

the child during the first six years of life. This includes the Spanish language, a good deal of the kinship structure, and even the rudiments of religion and technology. Typically the six-year-old knows no English or only a few words of it. He has begun to learn the techniques of ranching and farming through games and the performance of minor tasks. His dietary habits are more or less fixed in the adult pattern. He has acquired by precept and example and by the more subtle processes of unconscious learning the basic orientations of Hispano life.

Muchacho. The change to the status of muchacho is now a fairly drastic one, although formerly there was considerable continuity with the preceding period. At the age of about four to six, the child enters school and begins to learn English. If he has older siblings in school and the school is in the village, an earlier age is more likely. He begins to take on responsibilities for chores or even real jobs, and he takes a position of relative leadership with regard to younger children. More drastic, however, is the sudden imposition of the pattern of segregation of the sexes. Young children of both sexes may play together without restraint, but after approximately the age of six this behavior meets with increasing ridicule and is usually quickly extinguished. At the same time, the muchacho learns the sex mores of his culture, the patterns of the dance and of clandestine courtship and amorous adventure. In this important respect, socialization is almost entirely outside of the family, and the organized gang of age mates (the *plebe*) takes its place. The boys of the plebe now have the freedom of the village, while the girls are increasingly tied to the home. During this period parental discipline grows more stringent and may be enforced by fairly severe physical punishment.

A muchacho still owes obedience to his seniors, and this is enforced within its legitimate limits by physical punishment.

Leadership within the plebe is often quite directly a matter of physical prowess, although other considerations also enter.

Very often it is necessary for a youth to leave school and contribute to the economic support of the family, and in any case he is expected to reach adult status more quickly than do Anglos. Boys are frequently doing the work of men by the time they are 14 to 16; girls often marry at 16 to 18 and are virtually old maids at twenty.⁴⁷ At some point very shortly after age sixteen, a muchacho may be considered as a full-fledged "culture-bearer" in a generalized sense. He knows his culture thoroughly except in its specialized aspects, and has gone a long way toward finding his place in it.

Hombre. "Adult" status and "middle age" are concepts for which there are no precise terms in every day use in Spanish, nor are there precise cultural patterns defining them. A male become an *hombre* (man) and a female a *mujer* (woman) primarily on attaining the economic and social independence of marriage and a partially separate household. A person who is *de edad* (of age) should settle down and begin raising a family at the age of sixteen to twenty (or twenty-five for men). The Anglo age structure embodied in legal provisions that one may drive a car at sixteen, enter a bar or be drafted at eighteen, or drink, vote, make contracts and be tried for murder at twenty-one, has little relevance to the conditions of Hispano life, and some of these provisions are often ignored in favor of a younger definition of adulthood.

Some kinds of professional specialization take place primarily after the attainment of adult status. A *partera* usually learns her profession during her own period of childbearing. A *curandero* begins collecting the lore which will make him successful in old age. A *músico* (musician), who

47. In New Mexico law a boy may be married at 18 and a girl at 16 with parental consent, or they may marry at 21 and 18 respectively without consent.

probably learned his trade in his youth, goes on collecting the folk songs which will make him popular at public gatherings. A man learns more about his religion through participation in the management of the church or the Penitente chapter. A large part of the traditional culture is always known only to adult or aged specialists.

In general an adult has the prestige of his seniority to *muchachos* and *niños*, and gains in prestige within his age-grade as he grows older, but various considerations operate to reduce the prestige accruing to mere age. Occupation is far less important in this connection than is the case for Anglo culture, but kinship is far more so, and the prestige of an Hispano adult largely derives from his success in his major kinship role as a parent and head of family. A large family is almost a prerequisite for real success in the most prestigious roles in the culture, those of *patrón* and *jefe*.

Viejo. The aged in Hispano culture stand at the peak of the age seniority hierarchy. They maintain considerable influence and control over the activities of their juniors.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, their position is an ambivalent one. Insofar as they remain at the head of a large family, they are well taken care of without effort on their part, and they continue to have a major say in the family councils. If they are isolated, however, they tend to be distrusted, and are suspected of witchcraft. To some extent treatment of the age is influenced by the stereotype of the *viejito* and *viejita* (the "dear little old man and woman") who are treated with some respect and some condescension. Thus the patterns for behavior of and toward the aged are relatively flexible and leave considerable scope for personality differences.

With advanced age comes a resigned expectation of death, usually accepted with the stoicism born of the deep conviction that such is the natural order of things.

One dies as one has lived—*como quiera Dios*, as God may wish.

Despite the prestige of age and the respect for the past, there is little elaboration of the services for the dead. A wake, a funeral mass, and memorial services are held, and the burial is always in holy ground, but little care is lavished on the cemeteries, and little attention is paid to the departed ancestors or their spirits.

SEX

Macho. The male in Hispano culture is in a position of prestige, freedom, and superordination in relation to the female. His dominance may be seen in any number of patterns from that of being waited on at the table, eating first and having first rights to a seat in a crowded room, to his monopoly on the most prestigious roles in the culture, and his relative immunity to criticism and punishment. A man who is guilty of sexual misdemeanors may be looked at somewhat enviously as a rake; a woman would be disgraced. In such cases as this, it is clear that the male has rights which include those of the female but also go beyond them; in this sense, he occupies a "superior" position.

Only a part of the sex role, however, is structured hierarchically. It is also a matter of defining different spheres of activity which are mutually exclusive and hence not hierarchically comparable. One informant summarized this in the statement, "*El hombre tiene que saber lo que es trabajo y la mujer tiene que saber lo que es casa.*" (The man has to know what is meant by 'work' and the woman has to know what is meant by 'home.')

In general, the world outside the home is a man's world. With very few exceptions, all the roles except those of kinship are considered prerogatives of the male. Men are the priests, the politicians, the bosses, the laborers, the Penitentes, the leaders and the followers. They spend a considerable part of their time meeting friends, working, talking, drinking, or just loafing—all outside the home. In fact, a great deal of this activity

⁴⁸ This is particularly emphasized by Walter, 1938, and Zeleny, 1944.

is specifically relegated to the outside. A man does not ordinarily entertain friends in his own home. His sphere is the "world outside."

At an early age the sex education of the male is begun in the plebe, where he learns as well the patterned ways of circumventing the segregation code. Thus he discovers that although chastity is the pattern for overt sexual relationships in the teachings of the church and possibly of his parents as well, promiscuity is the behavior which will win him prestige with the gang, provided only that affairs are handled discreetly enough that he doesn't get caught. This is the ideal for males throughout life.

Hembra. The feminine sex role is already outlined by implication in this description of the male role. The woman's primary duty lies in home and family—the maintenance of a man's home, bearing him children, and caring for them. The little girl's preparation for this adult role is somewhat smoother and more continuous than the boy's socialization. A girl remains directly under her mother's eye throughout childhood, and is gradually introduced to the techniques of housekeeping and caring for children. The interruption of this training for attendance at school and learning English is perhaps a less significant and less drastic break for a girl than for a boy, since there is no real feminine counterpart of the plebe. The girl forms close friendships with a few of her age-mates, but her out-of-school hours continue to be spent under the relatively close supervision of her mother and other relatives, and her sexual education, if any, is derived from this source. Often the girl is appallingly ignorant about sexuality even at the time of marriage. Her husband, it is said, will teach her "those things."

Aside from church activities, few roles outside the home are open to women. One woman in the Rimrock area is a postmistress. The roles of midwife and curer are almost exclusively relegated to women. In the cities, the segregation is less stringent,

and girls and women are found working in factories, restaurants, drug stores, and department stores, but this represents a major change of relatively recent date, some of the implications of which are discussed below.

There is no institutionalized alternative sex role for men or women in Hispano culture—no berdache, no "manly-hearted" women. Occasionally, though, a woman bursts through the bounds of her sex role, as in the case of the *Monja Alférez*, terror of the mule trails of colonial Mexico, or *Conchita Cintrón*, the famous woman bull-fighter. Such lapses, tolerated at times, are very rare.⁴⁹

KINSHIP

The Hispano kinship terminology is primarily "lineal." It consistently differentiates all relatives by sex of referent, although this is mainly a function of the grammatical gender distinction in the Spanish language. In only two cases (*padre-madre* and their derivatives, and *yerno-nuera*) are the root words different. No relatives are unilaterally distinguished, and there is a clear-cut distinction of all consanguineal relatives from all affinal and step-relatives. The generations are completely differentiated except in the loosely extended use of *sobrino*, *tío* and *primo*. There is a complete set of lineal terms for four ascending and four descending generations. Unlike English (*child*, *parent*, *spouse*, etc.) or Latin (*liber*, *parens*, *conjunx*), Spanish has no collective terms which override sex differences. Like most European systems, the Hispano system has a set of extended kinship terms to cover the ceremonial relationships established at baptism. This Spanish *compadrazgo* system, although not as highly elaborated as, for example, among the Hispanicized Yaqui, is still far more important than the English godparent relationship,

49. The career of Evita Perón is of peculiar interest here. Some commentators have ascribed her withdrawal from the Argentine Vice-Presidential race of 1951 to the understandable reluctance of the Army to contemplate the possibility of a feminine Commander-in-Chief.

and is extended to include other life crises—most notably, marriage.

This kinship terminology is presented in the accompanying table.

The basic Hispano descent group is the bilateral kindred, although there is some emphasis also on the patronymic lineage. In New Mexico the Spanish and Latin American naming patterns have largely broken down, and the Anglo American system of patrilineally inherited surnames has replaced them. As in English custom, the wife takes the husband's name at marriage, and there is no retention of the maternal patronymic (as in modern Mexico), much less the patronymics of the father's mother and mother's mother (as was occasional in sixteenth-century Spain). Despite the emphasis in naming, however, the Hispano *familia* is traced bilaterally to a distant degree where all relatives are called *primo*, *tío* or *pariente* without attempts at finer discriminations, and in general, recognition of relationship involves recognition of at least some of the rights and duties involved in it. Only rarely, and under exceptional circumstances, would temporary hospitality be refused to a visiting kinsman, however distant.

Inheritance of property, especially land and livestock, is bilateral. Even small plots of land may be repeatedly subdivided in order to ensure proper distribution of the inheritance to all the children. Most property is considered personally owned except for the merging of husband's and wife's rights at marriage—the familiar "community property law," which has been enacted by many of the states in the United States but was adopted first by the states of the Spanish Southwest. The corporate ownership of land and water rights, characteristic of the land grant villages of central and northern New Mexico, is not found in the Rimrock area. Inefficient subdivision of land by inheritance into tiny plots is a major Hispano

problem in the state, but no general cultural solution has yet been achieved.

The kindred (*familia*), or at least its core, is the basic exogamous unit of the Hispano marriage rule. Marriage is forbidden by the Catholic Church (although permitted by the State of New Mexico) within the first cousin degree of relationship, but may be permitted under certain circumstances by a papal dispensation. There are no formal rules of marital preference nor of endogamy, except the rulings of the Church on marriage to non-Catholics, but there is a strong tendency, as in the United States generally, toward ethnic, religious, and class endogamy. All forms of residence after marriage are found; the overwhelming majority of cases involve neolocal arrangements. A marriage is viewed as the "founding of a new family," although the view of marriage as an "alliance between families" is the older and more characteristic native one. Economic and other factors result in patrilocal emphasis with regard to the community selected for residence, even though a new household is set up.

There are some indications that community endogamy was combined with patrilocal residence in the more classical pattern. Technically, a new household was

50. With the exception of *yerno* and *marido*, all masculine kin terms include the female relationships, and the plurals of all masculine terms imply inclusion of their feminine counterparts. Thus, *padre* may mean "parent," and *padres* usually means "parents."

51. Quotation marks are employed to indicate colloquial and slang usages.

52. It is a curious fact that the English word *daddy* should have been the first English kinship term to diffuse to Spanish, but it is widely used, expressions like *el daddy* and *mi daddy* being extremely common. Why this should be in a culture which has retained all of its terms intact and which, moreover, is highly paternalistic in its emphasis, is puzzling.

53. Some of the nuclear kin terms and some others are often extended to non-relatives or to distant relatives. Among these are: *hijo*, *hija*, *hermano* (and 'mano'), *tata*, *nama*, *tío*, *tía*, *primo*, *prima*, *compadre* and *comadre*.

54. "Older" and "younger" are indicated by the qualifying adjectives *mayor* and *menor*, or, more rarely and colloquially, by *grande* and *chico*, but the distinction is not invariably made, and is not technically part of the formal kinship terminology. This is, however, a very important aspect of the structuring of kinship roles.

55. There appears to be no clear vocative usage for husband and wife.

56. Use of vocative kinship terms specific to affinal relationships seems to be rare. In general, parentheses are used to indicate optional forms or forms in which the usage is relatively elastic. The terms *consuegro* and *consuegra*, used between the parents of a married couple, are little heard in New Mexico.

SPANISH KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY TABLE

Referential	Vocative	Other	English
I. CONSANGUINEAL			
A. Nuclear			
1. <i>Padre</i> ⁵⁰	<i>Papá</i>	" <i>Jefe</i> " ⁵¹	Father ⁵²
2. <i>Madre</i>	<i>Mamá</i>	" <i>Jefa</i> "	Mother
3. <i>Hijo</i> ⁵³	<i>Hijito</i>		Son
4. <i>Hija</i>	<i>Hijita</i>		Daughter
5. <i>Hermano</i> ⁵⁴	<i>Hermano</i>	" <i>Mano</i> "	Brother
6. <i>Hermana</i>	<i>Hermana</i>		Sister
7. <i>Esposo</i>	⁵⁵	<i>Marido</i> , " <i>Viejo</i> "	Husband
8. <i>Esposa</i>	_____	<i>Mujer</i> , " <i>Vieja</i> "	Wife
B. Lineal Extension			
9. <i>Abuelo</i>	<i>Tata</i>	" <i>Viejito</i> "	Grandfather
10. <i>Abuela</i>	<i>Nana</i>	" <i>Viejita</i> ", <i>Abuelita</i>	Grandmother
11. <i>Nieto</i>	(<i>Nieto</i>)	<i>Hijito</i>	Grandson
12. <i>Nieta</i>	(<i>Nieta</i>)	<i>Hijita</i>	Granddaughter
13. <i>Bisabuelo</i>	<i>Tata</i>		Great-grandfather
14. <i>Bisabuela</i>	<i>Nana</i>		Great-grandmother
15. <i>Biznieto</i>	(<i>Nieto</i>)	<i>Hijito</i>	Great-grandson
16. <i>Biznieta</i>	(<i>Nieta</i>)	<i>Hijita</i>	Great-granddaughter
17. <i>Tatarabuelo</i>	<i>Tata</i>	<i>Rebisabuelo</i>	Great-great-grandfather
18. <i>Tatarabuela</i>	<i>Nana</i>	<i>Rebisabuela</i>	Great-great-grandmother
19. <i>Tataranieto</i>	(<i>Nieto</i>)		Great-great-grandson
20. <i>Tataranieta</i>	(<i>Nieta</i>)		Great-great-granddaughter
C. Collateral			
21. <i>Tío</i>	<i>Tío</i>		Uncle; great-uncle
22. <i>Tía</i>	<i>Tía</i>		Aunt; great-aunt
23. <i>Sobrino</i>	<i>Sobrino</i>		Nephew; grand-nephew
24. <i>Sobrina</i>	<i>Sobrina</i>		Niece; grand-niece
25. <i>Primo (hermano)</i>	<i>Primo</i>		Cousin (male)
26. <i>Prima (hermana)</i>	<i>Prima</i>		Cousin (female)
27. <i>Primo segundo</i>	<i>Primo</i>		Second cousin (male)
28. <i>Prima segunda</i>	<i>Prima</i>		Second cousin (female)
29. <i>Tataradeudo</i>	<i>Tío, Tata</i>		Old and distant relative
30. <i>Pariente</i>	(<i>Pariente</i>)		Kinsman
D. Step-relatives			
31. <i>Padrastro</i>	<i>Papá</i>		Stepfather
32. <i>Madrastra</i>	<i>Mamá</i>		Stepmother
33. <i>Hijastro</i>	<i>Hijito</i>	<i>Entenado</i>	Stepson
34. <i>Hijastra</i>	<i>Hijita</i>	<i>Entenada</i>	Stepdaughter
35. <i>Hermanastro</i>	<i>Hermano</i>		Stepbrother
36. <i>Hermanastra</i>	<i>Hermana</i>		Stepsister
37. <i>Medio Hermano</i>	<i>Hermano</i>		Half-brother
38. <i>Media Hermana</i>	<i>Hermana</i>		Half-sister
II. AFFINAL			
39. <i>Suegro</i>	(<i>Suegro</i>) ⁵⁶		Father-in-law
40. <i>Suegra</i>	(<i>Suegra</i>)		Mother-in-law
41. <i>Yerno</i>	(<i>Yerno</i>)		Son-in-law
42. <i>Nuera</i>	(<i>Nuera</i>)		Daughter-in-law
43. <i>Cuñado</i>	(<i>Cuñado</i>)		Brother-in-law
44. <i>Cuñada</i>	(<i>Cuñada</i>)		Sister-in-law
III. CEREMONIAL			
45. <i>Compadre</i>	<i>Compadre</i>	" <i>Compa</i> "	Co-father
46. <i>Comadre</i>	<i>Comadre</i>	" <i>Coma</i> "	Co-mother
47. <i>Padrino</i>	(<i>Padrino</i>)		Godfather
48. <i>Madrina</i>	(<i>Madrina</i>)		Godmother
49. <i>Ahijado</i>	(<i>Ahijado</i>)		Godson
50. <i>Ahijada</i>	(<i>Ahijada</i>)		Goddughter

set up, but often it was but another apartment in the same or an adjoining building. True neolocal residence is probably a development of recent years and is almost certainly a factor in producing the changes elsewhere noted in the Hispano family system.

Papá. The father of a family, usually called *padre* and addressed as *papá* or *daddy*, is the ruler of the household, the final arbiter of disputes, the maker of all important family decisions. In actuality, the other members of the family almost always have some say, and of course personalities greatly affect the workings of the system. The mother of the family, her parents, the father's parents and older siblings of either, often give advice which is seriously considered.

Most often, the father is the disciplinarian, and for children who have reached the age of understanding (increasingly after about six) the discipline is often severe.⁵⁷

The father emerges as typically a figure with the highest prestige, treated with great respect, an attitude which becomes generalized to the other supremely important "father figures" in the culture—the *padre* (priest), the *patrón* (boss), the *jefe* (political and, in Mexico, military "chief"), and on another level the *santo* and the Deity. This is not to say that there is no tenderness in the father-child relationship, but only that such tenderness is deeply colored with respect. In Spanish profanity, for example, insults to a person's mother are mortal, but insults to a father are an unthinkable indignity, and idioms for them have simply never been created.

Mamá. The mother, often referred to as *madrecita* and addressed as *mamá*,⁵⁸ has principal charge of caring for small children (under six), and of the girls' educa-

tion. Her right to give orders around the house is unquestioned, but obedience is likely to be haphazard and is enforced less by physical punishment than by invoking paternal authority or evoking feelings of love and duty.

The mother-child relationship emphasizes tenderness and de-emphasizes the respect and authority dimension. By extension, this attitude is expressed symbolically in connection with the Virgin in her various aspects, and to a lesser degree the *santas*.

Hijo. A son, usually addressed in the diminutive, *mi hijito*, owes his parents not only respect, obedience, and filial love, but also actual economic support. Many boys start work at an early age to help support the family, and may be called upon to support their aged parents entirely, an obligation viewed as a fair return for the care given them as children.⁵⁹

Depending to some extent on birth order, a boy is usually quite close to his father, and begins working for or with him at an early age. In contrast with the urban Anglo situation, a boy knows his father well, although he himself may also spend much of his time with age mates. His relation to his mother remains one of great tenderness even though he early escapes from her direct supervision and tutelage.

Hija. The filial obligations of a daughter (*hija*, *hijita*) tend to be somewhat less stringent, as a result of her marriage into another family, but she, too, may assist in supporting her parents as they grow old. Cases in which a widowed mother lives in her daughter's home are by no means rare. A father is somewhat weightily "responsible" for his daughter, but the provision for adequate chaperonage, for the daughter's education in her sex role and general deportment, is properly the mother's province. The brief span of a generation (very often not more than 16-20

57. In at least some of the families visited the father kept a whip or belt handy for use on even small children, and the mere threat of his arrival was sufficient to enforce obedience to maternal orders.

58. Or *mamacita*. The masculine counterparts of these affectionate diminutives are almost never heard. Occasionally a beloved priest may be called *padrecito*.

59. But contrasting sharply with the growing Anglo attitude that parents should not "stand in the way of" or "be a drain on" their children.

years) makes the relationship of mother and daughter even closer. It is not uncommon for a woman to have small children still in the house after her oldest daughters already have children of their own.

Hermano. A brother has strong obligations of mutual support towards his siblings of both sexes. Although not recognized in the formal kinship terminology, the distinction between an older and a younger brother is of considerable importance. The authority and responsibility of an older brother (and to a lesser degree an older sister) in relation to younger siblings are quasi-parental.

Large and closely-spaced families are bound to create sibling rivalry situations of considerable intensity. The relatively strict hierarchical structuring of sibling relationships may serve to control the manifestations of this: certainly very little overt hostility was observed.⁶⁰

Although it must surely contain elements of ambivalence, the relationship of siblings in Hispano culture is very close. Beyond the sphere of kinship as such, it no doubt has important bearing on attitudes to the authority figure of the *Hermano Mayor* of the Penitente chapter.

Hermana. A sister occupies a position of special tenderness. An older sister often cares for younger children even when she herself is no more than five or six years old. In this "maternal" role she may have some authority over smaller children, but it partakes more of the mother's than of the father's prestige. A brother is under special obligation to protect his sister, and, as she grows older, her honor, and the obligation is usually taken quite seriously. The relationship of two sisters is ordinarily very close, especially when they are near the same age. The sibling tie is usually maintained after marriage, but there are indications that the separation of households may bring ten-

sion into the relationship with the affinal relatives then acquired.

Esposo. The commonest terms for husband and wife are *marido* and *mujer* respectively. The forms *esposo* and *esposa* are also widely used, and in joking reference *el viejo* ("the old man") and *la vieja* ("the old lady") are sometimes heard. There is apparently no vocative form. As might be supposed from the previous discussion of sex and parental roles, the wife's role is subordinate and restricted. The marriage relationship is almost invariably set up by a church wedding. Occasionally a civil ceremony is also held, but the "common law marriage" so common in Mexico is very rare indeed. Divorce, forbidden by the church almost summarily, is very rare, but not unknown. Three or four cases came to my attention in the Rimrock area, but I found it impossible to determine causes.

For both sexes, successful marriage and parenthood are almost the *sine qua non* of self respect in adult life, but for the man this may be the background for a successful career in politics or ranching or business, while for a woman her marriage is her career, and aside from the relatively rare eventuality of her becoming a nun, is the only one open to her.

The division of labor in marriage has already been indicated to some extent; the husband represents the family in the outside world, and governs it in the home, while the woman is responsible for making a home for him and his children. Small livestock, such as chickens, are the woman's province; small-scale truck gardening may involve both the husband and the wife. More extensive farming and ranching are exclusively male occupations. Hauling wood and water and chopping wood for fires are the duty of the husband, but tend to be relegated to the children as they appear.

The wife owes the husband absolute sexual fidelity, and the word for cuckold (*cabrón*) is a very serious insult. The obli-

60. For an extended discussion of the structural aspects of older-younger brother relations in Hispano culture, see F. Kluckhohn, 1941.

gation is not, however, reciprocal, and a woman is expected to regard the peccadillos of her husband with tolerance.

Pariente. A general obligation of mutual assistance and reciprocal favors prevails among kinsmen (*parientes*), decreasing gradually in the outer reaches of the kinship circle, and varying mostly as a matter of degree. The actual performance of kinship duties outside of the nuclear kinship relationships is likely to depend greatly upon propinquity and the personalities of the individuals involved. Few patterns are specific to any given kinship role, but rather a diffuse solidarity may be extended to include almost any degree of blood or affinal relationship. In this connection the role of *amigo* (friend) is probably best considered as a sort of distant kinship role established by familiarity and maintained through a quasi-kinship exchange of reciprocal kindnesses. In general, the relationships to individuals in kinship roles outside the nuclear family may be viewed as variations on the themes set up in the roles of father, mother, son, daughter, brother and sister. The approximate lines along which kinship behavior is so generalized are indicated in the accompanying table.

The extension of kinship attitudes to lineal relatives on both sides is marked by a general softening of the original patterns. A grandfather (*abuelo, abuelito, tata*) is a "father figure," but one who does not receive the respectful devotion due a father. As is characteristic of many cultures, skipping a generation here brings a less stern relationship. An attitude of playful familiarity is even more character-

istic of relations between a grandmother (*abuela, abuelita, nana*) and her grandchildren.

The extension of nuclear kinship patterns to collateral relatives is somewhat less attenuated. An uncle and aunt may often be called upon to stand *in loco parentis* to their *sobrinos*, and the full form of the cousin term (*primo hermano*, literally "first brother") suggests that the relationship is a close one, as indeed it is.

Step-relatives are virtually nuclear relatives, and in many cases there is little or no distinction between them and the corresponding members of the nuclear family. Structurally, the distinction is always there, and it is likely that step-siblings, for example, may be treated less specifically as members of the family than half-siblings, at least on occasion.

The affinal relationships parallel the nuclear ones. A father-in-law, for example, is treated with the respect due a father. However, the nature of family solidarity, dividing the community into a number of theoretically independent but interlocking groups, creates considerable potential strain at the points of interdigitation, namely in the affinal kinship relationships. The mother-in-law (*suegra*) and brother-in-law (*cuñado*) relationships seem to be particularly fraught with this tension, possibly because they are unprotected by the attitude of respect which characterizes the *suegro-yerno* (and-*nuera*) relation.

The ceremonially extended kinship roles strongly resemble the institutionalized friendship system reported from many parts of the world. The extension of filial

NUCLEAR	LINEAL	COLLATERAL	STEP	AFFINAL	CEREMONIAL
Father	<i>Abuelo</i>	<i>Tio</i>	<i>Padrastro</i>	<i>Suegro</i>	<i>Padrino</i>
Mother	<i>Abuela</i>	<i>Tia</i>	<i>Madrastra</i>	<i>Suegra</i>	<i>Madrina</i>
Son	<i>Nieto</i>	<i>Sobrino</i>	<i>Hijastro</i>	<i>Yerno</i>	<i>Ahijado</i>
Daughter	<i>Nieta</i>	<i>Sobrina</i>	<i>Hijastra</i>	<i>Nuera</i>	<i>Ahijada</i>
Brother	—	<i>Primo</i>	<i>Hermanastro</i>	<i>Cuñado</i>	<i>Compadre</i>
			<i>Medio hermano</i>		
Sister	—	<i>Prima</i>	<i>Hermanastra</i>	<i>Cuñada</i>	<i>Comadre</i>
			<i>Media hermana</i>		

attitudes to the godfather (*padrino*) and godmother (*madrina*) echoes dimly the overtones of the original attitudes to father and mother. The *compadre* (and *comadre*) relationship is a little more complex, involving aspects of brotherhood, but with more than a hint of husband-wife relations as well. This is only natural in view of the implication of co-parenthood in the terms themselves.⁶¹

RELIGION

Hispano religion remains fairly well integrated despite breakdown in other parts of the culture. Less eclectic than many religious systems, it may nevertheless be divided into four rather distinct segments. The greatest part of the religion falls within the framework of orthodox Catholicism. In addition, however, there is the autonomous movement of Penitentism, or the *Hermanos Penitentes*, which, though it originated within the Church, was later disavowed and is now only disapprovingly tolerated by the Catholic priests in New Mexico. Furthermore, there is an important group of rituals generally approved by the Church but secular in their origin and growth. These secular rituals are widespread throughout the Spanish-speaking world. While they do not proscribe the presence of the priest, neither do they require it, and they may be considered

as generally outside the Church. Finally, there is a group of magical rites and beliefs quite distinct from all of the above rituals, centering on witchcraft and magical curing practices. The table below presents the principal rituals involved in the Hispano religious system, illustrating also the partial parallelism of the Church, Penitente and secular rituals.

In general the rituals of the Catholic Church take place in the Church building, although processions are sometimes held through the plaza and to the cemetery. The Penitente rituals are performed principally in a chapel (*morada*), and on a special ceremonial ground called the *calvario* (Calvary). Public Penitente processions are now staged very rarely, and even those which occasionally do take place are often held secretly at night and are scantily attended. Secular rituals are performed most often in private homes or in some secular building, such as an unused store or the school house. Magical practices are most commonly performed in privacy and with great secrecy.

With the exception of this last group, the rituals of the Hispano religion are organized in a few big ceremonials, of which the principal ones are the Initiation Ceremonies, Marriage, Death, the Saint's Day, and Holy Week.⁶³

CATHOLICISM	PENITENTISM ⁶²	SECULAR RITUAL	MAGICAL PRACTICES
Baptism	Initiation	Saint's Day	(Witchcraft)
Catechism	Novitiate	_____	(Curing)
Confirmation	Vows	_____	(Taboos)
Penitence	Penitence	_____	
Absolution	Flagellation	_____	
Rosary	Rosary	_____	
Mass	Rosary	_____	
Banns	_____	<i>Prendorio</i>	
Matrimony	_____	<i>Casorio</i>	
Tenebrae	Rosary	<i>Velorio</i>	
Burial	Burial	_____	
Novena	Rosary	_____	
	Procession	Fiesta	

61. There appears to be, however, no explicit extension of the incest taboo to *compadres* as was formerly the case in Europe.

62. It should be noted that the remarks made here about Penitentism apply to San Martin only. La Peña and Aspera have apparently never had and do not now have *Penitente moradas*. The account of Penitentism in this study draws heavily on Anonymous, 1920; Hurt, 1941; and Lummis 1925a, 1925b.

63. The word *ceremonial* is used here to mean a series of ritual activities extending over a considerable period of time and composed of a number of separable

ceremonies. A *ceremony* is taken to be a program of ritual activities involving several separable rituals but which is conceived as a unit with a common purpose. By *ritual* is meant a program of rites invariably performed as a unit, although some of the component rites may appear in more than one ritual. Thus in Anglo culture, for example, we would consider the ceremonial of Marriage to involve the ceremonies of Engagement and Matrimony. The latter includes the rituals of the Wedding and the Wedding Party. The exchange of rings, the kissing of the bride, the catching of the bridal bouquet, and so forth, would be considered *rites*.

The Catholic and Penitente initiation ceremonials are quite distinct. The procedure of Initiation into the Catholic Church involves four main ceremonies: *Bautismo*, *Catecismo*, *Penitencia*, and *Confirmación*. The first, Baptism, usually takes place within a few weeks of birth, the ritual involving selection of godparents, who act as ritual sponsors, and giving the child a name selected from among the names of the Church saints. The ritual of baptism is often followed by a baptismal party, with the presentation of gifts by the child's godparents. After the naming, the annual celebration of the Name Day is held as a secular ritual, corresponding approximately to the celebration of the Anglo birthday. In some parts of the Southwest both the name day, or saint's day, and the birthday are celebrated; in the Rimrock area neither seems to be particularly emphasized, and the observance is usually very casual.

During the next few years the godparents have a responsibility, shared with the parents, for the child's religious education, the principal aspect of which is memorizing the answers to doctrinal questions contained in the catechism. At the age of about six, a child is expected to know his catechism, and may begin the office of penance, involving confession and performance of the penance indicated for moral transgressions. Then the ceremony of confirmation is held. Usually new godparents are selected to sponsor the child at this ritual, although often only one padrino is required: Following confirmation, the child takes his first communion, regarded as a very important milestone in his life, and commonly celebrated by a party afterwards. After confirmation, a child is considered a full member of the Church.

The Penitente initiation ceremonial takes place much later in life, apparently not earlier than 20-25 years of age. Corresponding to the baptism of the Church is the *entrega* (declaration), in which the novice "gives himself over" to the brother-

hood. Very little is known of the actual ceremony involved here. If the *cofradía* agrees to accept his service, the novice is then placed in the charge of the *maestro de novios* for the period of his novitiate. He takes the vows of the order in a ceremony corresponding approximately to confirmation, and then goes through the ceremony of the whips (*disciplinas*). It is not clear whether there is a special initiatory ceremony of flagellation, or whether the initiate merely goes through this phase during the regular flagellation at Holy Week, but it is at this time that he receives the stigmata of the order, three deep gashes vertically and three horizontally across his back.⁶⁴ After this ceremony, he is a full-fledged *Hermano Penitente*. For membership in the second, or higher order of the Penitente movement, and possibly for eligibility to hold office in the organization, he must undergo the Easter *disciplinas* five times, after which he need not participate as an *hermano disciplante* (brother in discipline) except when he chooses to make special vows of penance.

The marriage ceremonial is composed of Catholic and secular Spanish elements. The Penitentes, being an exclusively male order, have nothing to do with it. The two big ceremonies are those of engagement (*noviazgo*) and matrimony (*matrimonio*). The ritual visit of the groom's parents to the bride's (*visita*), and the go-between, have been abandoned as part of the formalization of courtship. The publishing of the banns in Church (*amonestaciones*) is the most important ritual of engagement. The secular engagement party (*prendorio*) has not been held in the Rimrock area for several years.⁶⁵

Typically the banns are published about a month before the wedding. The wedding ceremony takes the form of a Catholic

64. A friend whom I alerted failed to discover evidence of this practice in a large series of somatotype photographs of World War II Army inductees drawn from the Southwest including New Mexico. It seems likely that most of the more sadistic Penitente practices have lapsed. (The decline in membership among the younger generation is mentioned elsewhere.)

65. See F. Kluckhohn, 1941.

service of matrimony or nuptial mass, and is commonly followed in the evening by the wedding party (*casorio*), usually a community dance.⁶⁶ The honeymoon (*luna de miel*) is a brief trip to some point of interest in the Southwest, although often the couple simply takes up residence immediately. The wedding usually takes place at the home of the bride or in the church attended by her family. The groom pays for the expenses of the wedding, including the bride's trousseau, and the wedding dance. In some cases a reluctant groom has been kidnapped or has found his bride held hostage to ensure his willingness to give the wedding party.

The ceremonial of death has two alternative forms: Catholic and Penitente. The Catholic death ceremonies are extreme unction (*extrema unción*), the wake (*velorio*), the burial (*entierro*), and mourning (*luto*); the Penitente ceremonies are identical, except that a long prayer service called a *rosario* replaces the Last Sacrament. When a person is assumed to be dying, the priest is called to administer extreme unction, including the hearing of confession and the administration of the eucharist. After death the body is washed and dressed and a coffin is constructed immediately. The wake ordinarily takes place the same evening, and the burial service is held the next day. If a priest cannot be summoned in time, there may be a delay of a day or so, but on the isolated ranchitos, the burial will often take place without benefit of clergy. The burial ceremony commonly consists of a requiem mass, followed by a procession to the cemetery, where the actual burial ritual is held. Every village, and most of the more isolated ranchitos, have cemeteries, or at least tracts of land which have been blessed by a priest. The Penitente burial grounds are believed by members to be holy ground, but are not blessed by the priest. The two rituals which follow burial are mourning for all the members

of the immediate family, and at some time later a novena or a series of isolated memorial masses. Mourning should last for one year for the members of the immediate family, but many widows continue to wear black for the rest of their lives.

The Penitente ritual does not include the Eucharist. For a brother who is dying, or for any non-member who requests it, they may hold an extended prayer service (*rosario*), usually in the chapel rather than at the bedside of the stricken person. After the death takes place, and especially if the deceased is a member of the brotherhood, the wake may be held in the Chapel. A prayer service led by the *hermano mayor* of the chapter takes the place of the Church mass, and burial occurs immediately in the yard of the chapel, thus precluding an extended procession. It is common for the Penitente burial to take place without a casket, and the services of the brotherhood, unlike those of the Church, involve no special fees, so there is some tendency towards selection of the Penitente ritual by the poorer classes. The mourning ceremony is identical with the Catholic ceremony, except that again the memorial *rosario* takes the place of the mass.

In all Spanish American towns the Fiesta or Day of the Patron Saint is one of the most important ceremonials of the year. The ceremonies involved are the *vispera*, or Eve of the Saint's Day, when vespers are held in the Church, confession may be heard by the priest, and a community dance is held, and the *día del santo*, which involves a high mass (*misa cantada*), followed by a procession in the morning, and a big dance at night. For the ceremony of the *día del santo* (usually called by the name of the saint, as *el día de San Juan, de San Martín*, etc.) people come in from the ranchitos, from surrounding villages, and even from distant towns and cities in order to be present. People who moved away from the village years or even a generation ago now return to enjoy the

66. See F. Kluckhohn, 1941.

festivities. The population of Aspera, for example, trebled during the Fiesta!

The most elaborate religious observance of the Hispanos, however, is the ceremonial of *Semana Santa* (Holy Week). No other ceremonial of the year is treated so seriously or performed so carefully. With the possible exception of the Fiesta, no other ceremonial involves such broad participation. The Christmas ceremonial of the Hispanos is in process of shifting from the accent on Twelfth Night (*el día de los reyes magos*) found in Mexico to the Anglo celebration on December twenty-fifth with lighted trees and exchange of cards and gifts; the Holy Week ceremonial remains traditionally Spanish. Santa Claus is well known in Hispano culture; the Easter Bunny remains an outsider. Furthermore, within the Holy Week ceremonial, it is not the resurrection message of Easter Sunday which seems stressed, but rather the mournful imagery of Good Friday: the crucifixion and the sorrowing Virgin. In the Penitente ceremonial of Holy Week this emphasis is sharp; no rituals at all are held after Good Friday night.⁶⁷

The ceremonial of Lent (*Cuaresma*), which precedes Holy Week, begins on Ash Wednesday (*Ceniza*) and lasts technically until the mass on Holy Saturday (*Sábado de Gloria*). It is a time of fasting, penitence and sobriety. The people refrain from eating meat⁶⁸ and from indulging in undue levity. In the more conservative households there is a proscription not only on drinking alcoholic beverages, dancing, movies, and so forth, but also on games and laughter at home. Church services are held every Wednesday and Friday in Lent in addition to the Sunday service, at least when the priest can make it. In most areas

stores and shops are closed during the latter part of Holy Week, typically from the evening of Holy Thursday until after the mass on Holy Saturday.

The ceremonial of *Semana Santa* rarely involves the full week of ritual. In the relatively elaborate celebration I attended, the activities lasted for four days, and in many cases only the last three days of the week are marked by ceremonies. In the ceremony of *Jueves Santo*, Holy Thursday, there was a simple church service consisting of a *sermón* (a brief prayer service with the reading of appropriate scripture and a scriptural sermon), and a procession, in which the saints were carried out around the plaza and back into the church. This was held about mid-afternoon. The service commemorates the Last Supper. In the evening there was another *sermón*, commemorating the trial of Christ by the Sanhedrin. For this service the Church was draped in mourning; many saints were shrouded, and lights were dimmed. The deep mourning was preserved through the services of the following day.

The ceremony of *Viernes Santo*, Good Friday, began with a sermon and procession in the morning in which the trial before Pilate was enacted. In the afternoon the Crucifixion was commemorated in another sermon and procession, and in the evening the ritual of *Tinieblas* (*Tenebrae*) was performed, a mourning ritual for the death of Christ. In the ceremony I saw, the (men's) St. Joseph Society and the (women's) Altar Society of the Church collaborated in presenting dramatic tableaux which paralleled the topics of the sermons. Live actors represented the figures of the drama with the exception of Jesus, Mary, John and Joseph, whose parts were taken by the saints from the church. The entire ceremonial was dramatic and impressive in the extreme, and the atmosphere was one of high seriousness and reverence.

The ceremony of *Sábado de Gloria* marks the close of Lent. It begins with the bless-

67. The following description of the Holy Week ceremonial is derived from the particularly elaborate observance at Tomé, New Mexico, rather than from any of the villages in the Rimrock area. Elsewhere, the tone of the ceremonial is much the same, but it is much simplified, and, especially in isolated areas, the Church celebration may be reduced to a single mass.

68. The Church revoked in 1951 the special dispensation, conferred by the Pope during the Moorish wars in Spain, under which Spanish Catholics were exempted from the regular Friday fasting elsewhere observed. Even before the revocation, however, the Lenten fast was strictly followed by most Hispanos.

ing of water and fire (*bendición de agua* and *bendición de lumbre*) early in the morning. This is followed by a high mass which marks the formal end of Lent. Immediately following this service many of the stores and bars re-open, and the parishioners return to work in their fields. In the evening there is a *gran baile*, the first since Shrove Tuesday and the beginning of Lent. This is invariably one of the biggest dances of the year, and the celebration is riotous.

The ceremony of *Pascua* (Easter Sunday), with solemn high mass and a procession through the plaza, ends the ceremonial of Holy Week. The drama of the Resurrection is re-enacted; the Church is beautifully decorated with flowers and white draperies, and is brilliantly illuminated. The procession, while solemn, loses its mournful tone and winds back into the church amid the pealing of the church bell and the chanting of *Aleluyas*. Nevertheless, in view of the "back to work" movement and the tumultuous dance of the day before, Easter comes as something of an anticlimax. The dramatic peak of the ceremonial clearly falls on the Crucifixion and *Tenebrae* on Good Friday.

The Penitente ceremonial of *Semana Santa* begins earlier than that of the Church, on Holy Tuesday, and lasts for four days, or well into Good Friday night. Throughout Lent, the brotherhood holds prayers and processions every Friday, sometimes every Wednesday as well, and observes the fasting restrictions of the Church with great strictness. Often their prayers continue all night, and the brothers go without food and sleep for twenty-four hours or more at a time.

The ceremony of *Martes Santo* (Holy Tuesday) marks the beginning of the Holy Week celebration. The brotherhood marches to the chapel in formal proces-

sion. The Brothers of Light (*Hermanos de Luz*), the inner circle of the fraternity, go inside and admit the *Hermanos Penitentes* one by one in a ritual *entrada* (entrance) of catechismic recitation. Inside, the ritual of *obligación* is held, the six gashes which constitute the seal of the order being administered to the *hermanos disciplantes* by the *sangrador* (bloodletter). A long prayer service follows, and the *disciplantes* are treated for their cuts by the *coadjutor* (helper). During this service, the brothers beg for and are given the *disciplinas*, lashes with the whip in numbers based on scriptural events: the three meditations, the five wounds, the seven last words, the forty days of Lent.

Miércoles Santo, Holy Wednesday, is marked by another prayer service, a repetition of the *disciplinas*, and a procession through the plaza to the ceremonial ground of Calvary or to the Cemetery.

On *Jueves Santo* there is another rosario prayer service and in the following procession the brother chosen to represent Christ makes his first appearance.

The processions of Good Friday begin early in the morning, shortly after midnight. At each procession the whips are freely wielded, and the brothers, who have gone without food or rest for as much as two days, suffer genuine agonies. In the afternoon (or sometimes, to avoid publicity, in the evening), the Crucifixion is staged, the chosen "Christ" being tied to the cross in cruel torment. Following this is the dramatic ritual of *Tinieblas*, held in total darkness amid the clanking of chains and rattling of tin. Special prayers are offered for those who request them. There follows the election of officers for the ensuing year, and the brothers disperse.

A general outline of the ceremonial system of Hispano culture follows:

CEREMONIAL

CEREMONY

RITUAL

I. INITIATION

A. Catholic

1. *Bautismo* (Baptism)
2. *Catecismo* (Catechism)
3. *Penitencia* (Penance)
4. *Confirmación* (Confirmation)

- a. *Bautismo*
- b. *Día de Santo* (Name Day)

- a. *Confesión* (Confession)
- b. *Penitencia*

- a. *Confirmación*
- b. *Primera comunión*
(First communion)

B. Penitente

1. *Entrega* (Declaration)
2. *Noviciado* (Novitiate)
3. *Disciplinas* (Flagellation)

II. MARRIAGE

1. *Noviazgo* (Courtship)

- a. *Baile* (Dance)
- b. *Visita* (Visit)
- c. *Amonestaciones* (Banns)
- d. *Prendorio* (Engagement Party)

2. *Matrimonio* (Wedding)

- a. *Bodas* (Wedding)
- b. *Casorio* (Wedding Party)
- c. *Luna de miel* (Honeymoon)

III. DEATH

A. Catholic

1. *Extrema unción* (Extreme Unction)

- a. *Confesión*
- b. *Eucarestia* (Communion)

2. *Velorio* (Wake)
3. *Entierro* (Burial)

- a. *Misa de difuntos* (Requiem)
- b. *Procesión* (Funeral)
- c. *Entierro*

4. *Luto* (Mourning)

- a. *Luto*
- b. *Novena*

B. Penitente

1. *Rosario* (Rosary)
2. *Velorio*
3. *Entierro*

- a. *Rosario*
- b. *Entierro*

4. *Luto*

- a. *Luto*
- b. *Rosario*

IV. FIESTA

1. *Vispera* (Eve)

- a. *Visperas* (Litany)
- b. *Confesión*
- c. *Baile*

2. *Día de Santo* (Saint's Day)

- a. *Misa cantada* (High mass)
- b. *Procesión*
- c. *Baile*

CEREMONIAL	CEREMONY	RITUAL
V. SEMANA SANTA		
A. Catholic		
	1. <i>Jueves Santo</i> (Holy Thursday)	a. <i>Sermón</i> of the Last Supper b. <i>Procesión</i> c. <i>Sermón</i> of the Jewish Trial
	2. <i>Viernes Santo</i> (Good Friday)	a. <i>Sermón</i> of the Roman Trial b. <i>Procesión</i> c. <i>Sermón</i> of the Crucifixion d. <i>Procesión</i> e. <i>Tinieblas</i> (Tenebrae)
	3. <i>Sábado de Gloria</i> (Holy Saturday)	a. <i>Bendición de Agua</i> (Blessing of Water) b. <i>Bendición de Lumbre</i> (Blessing of Fire) c. <i>Misa</i> (Mass) d. <i>Baile</i>
	4. <i>Pascua</i> (Easter Sunday)	a. <i>Misa cantada</i> (High mass) b. <i>Procesión</i>
B. Penitente		
	1. <i>Martes Santo</i> (Holy Tuesday)	a. <i>Procesión</i> b. <i>Entrada</i> (Entrance) c. <i>Obligación</i>
	2. <i>Miércoles Santo</i> (Holy Wednesday)	a. <i>Rosario</i> b. <i>Disciplinas</i> c. <i>Procesión</i>
	3. <i>Jueves Santo</i> (Holy Thursday)	a. <i>Rosario</i> b. <i>Disciplinas</i> c. <i>Procesión del Cristo</i>
	4. <i>Día de la Cruz</i> (Good Friday)	a. <i>Procesión al Calvario</i> b. <i>Procesión al Camposanto</i> c. <i>Procesión al Camposanto</i> d. <i>Procesión al Calvario</i> e. <i>Crucifixión</i> (Crucifixion) f. <i>Tinieblas</i> (Tenebrae) g. <i>Elección</i> (Election)

The separate "magical practices" of the Hispano religious system are more fragmentary and diffuse, an eclectic assortment of disparate beliefs and practices. There are many known rites of magic and witchcraft, but no true *rituals*.⁶⁹

The rites of witchcraft (*brujería*) are believed to have the primary object of inflicting illness, death, discomfort and property damage on victims singled out for the witch's malice. Rites of love magic are also assumed to be an important activity of *brujos* (witches). In a diffuse

way, a witch is assumed to be in league with the devil. This compact with evil is supposed to be attained by means of some rite, such as invocation of the devil in the Black Mass, or by repeating Catholic prayers backwards. Boiling a perfect black cat to obtain the "invisible cat bone" is reported as another road to supernatural power. There are supposed to be books which give information on the rites of witchcraft, and which witches may follow in attaining their ends. Once a person has become a witch, by some such rites as those described, he then practices his trade out of pure malice, or to settle personal

69. The account of witchcraft which follows draws heavily on Hurt, 1940, in addition to my own materials.

grudges, or in return for gifts, money and services by other interested parties. The commonest rite of witchcraft for inflicting damage on people is the *mal ojo*, or evil eye. A baleful glance or even a fixed stare sometimes accompanied by a curse, and especially one which twists Catholic prayers and saints' names, is much feared as a threat to one's life or fortune. This particular rite is apparently not conceived as the monopoly of fully initiated witches, and anyone who is caught staring, however absent-mindedly, may be requested to perform one of the rites of counter-magic to ward off the effects of such thoughtlessness. Aside from the evil eye and witch's curse, probably the commonest rite ascribed to witches is the making of effigies (*monos*) of an intended victim, incorporating if possible some element which has once been in contact with him (locks of hair, nail parings, rejected food, items of clothing, faeces, etc.), and inflicting the intended punishment symbolically on the effigy. The curse (with or without the evil eye) and the *mono* are the most important means at the witch's disposal for victimizing selected people. Other rites, even more vaguely described, are performed by witches out of a sheer tendency to evil. Kissing snakes and goats and eating corpses are among the practices attributed to witches at their secret orgies. In order to attain their evil ends, witches are thought to assume animal form (cats, owls, dogs, bats and so forth), or they may be seen as balls of fire, or nameless things, travelling with incredible speed. Any damage suffered by a witch so disguised will be retained when he returns to human form.

An interesting feature of Hispano witchcraft belief is its complete reciprocity across cultural lines. The Navaho, for example, are unafraid of Anglo witchcraft, and only occasionally cautious about Hispanos, but attribute to Pueblo witches even greater power than to their own. The Hispanos seem to believe that their witches can bewitch, and their people be bewitched

by Anglos, Pueblos and Navahos alike. This accurately reflects the intermediate position of the Hispanos in the general social structure. It should be noted that the strength of witchcraft belief among New Mexico's Hispanos is widely variable. Many people are frank unbelievers. In the more isolated rural villages the people can often point out persons suspected of witchcraft; in larger and more acculturated towns where the belief still exists, the actual practice of witchcraft is attributed to other neighboring towns, or to people long dead. In the latter case it is very rare for a person to be accused of witchcraft by name; the implication is more vaguely that "there are such people."

A number of rites mitigate or avert the evil influence of a witch, once that influence is detected and recognized, and there are a number of ways of detecting witchcraft. Anyone named Juan can trap a witch by putting his clothes on wrong-side-out and drawing a circle near the door. A cross of needles over the doorway and a broom behind the door prevent the departure of a witch who has entered the house. Sometimes it is thought that a witch cannot bear to hear the names of Christ, Mary and Joseph or to witness the sign of the cross. A witch is supposed to be unable to move unaided from a circle drawn in the road. Illnesses or other misfortunes which have some startling or unusual feature may be attributed to witchcraft. The victim of a witch, for example, may only be sick on certain days, or may cough up wool, string, or other intrusive objects.

In addition to general counter-witchcraft precautionary measures such as *pie-dra imán* (lodestone), *calabaza* (squash, gourd) and *gachana* root, there are specific antidotes. The evil eye may be warded off by having the starrer spit on the apparent victim. The attention of evil powers may be distracted from pretty children by performing this rite any time the child is complimented. The formulas of Catholicism, the names of the Trinity or the Holy

Family, or the shorter and more familiar prayers of the Church may be used to ward off witchcraft, and are presumed to cause a temporary loss of power to any witch present. The upraised hand with index and little fingers extended, a sign commonly used to ward off the evil eye in Spain and Mexico, was not encountered in the Rimrock area.

In serious cases the services of a specialist are required, and the patient goes to a curandero, since in addition to his lore of folk remedies, the curer is usually a specialist in diagnosing and treating illness caused by witchcraft. In some instances, Hispanos have been known to go to Pueblo and Navaho curers, especially in cases of this kind. The details of the curandero's treatments are not known, but may involve confronting the witch with evidence of his guilt and calling upon him to desist. Witches avoid this kind of publicity like the plague, and are ordinarily supposed to be cooperative. In some cases an herbal cure may be recommended and an *herbolario* called on for a specific.

Aside from the rites of witchcraft and counter-witchcraft, there are a number of heterogeneous taboos of varying degrees of generality for avoiding more impersonal magical powers. The avoidance of moonlight, supposedly a particular danger to pregnant women, is an instance of this.

Divination plays a very minor role in Hispano religion, and is largely restricted to determining the sex of an unborn child, predicting the course of love affairs, and advising on the prognosis of illnesses (especially witchcraft illness). Hispano concern over the future is apparently not sufficient to demand institutionalization. An Anglo fortune-teller would have a hard time in a Mexicano village, and an insurance salesman would starve to death. Also lacking in Hispano religion is any explicit emphasis on the control of natural forces. There have been reports of punishment meted out to a village Saint when the rains failed for long periods, but it seems more

common to accept what God sends than to attempt to interfere in His inscrutable governing of events. Not even in his religion does the Hispano attempt to coerce Nature.

The Hispano religious role system at once reflects its eclecticism and the degree of its integration with other institutions. The most important roles are within or dependent upon the Church, although the formal organization of the parish itself is ordinarily very simple. In addition, however, there are the ritual or life crisis roles legitimized by the ceremonies of the Church (widow, bachelor, fiancé, etc.) and the system of ritual extended kinship (*compadrazgo*). Outside of the Church are the role systems of the Penitente organization and of the magical practice.

Padre. The parish or missionary priest is always a figure of the greatest importance in village life. In the Rimrock area the priests are members of the Franciscan order, and, as elsewhere in New Mexico, are almost invariably non-Hispano. There have been some instances of cultural conflict between the Anglo, Irish, German or French priests and their Hispano parishioners, notably over Penitentism and such customs as the casorio dance, and the language barrier is often troublesome, but after a few years of residence the priests usually learn passable Spanish, and very often prove flexible enough to work out satisfactory adjustments between the Church and custom. Much depends, of course, upon the personality of the padre.

At one point in the history of New Mexico, the rule of clerical celibacy was openly flouted by very prominent priests in the province; in the modern period (*i.e.*, since the reforms of the famous Archbishop Lamy in the later nineteenth century) the rules of the orders have apparently been most strictly observed. It was a wise move on the part of the Church to send Franciscans (of the First Order of St. Francis) to minister to laymen who were often Franciscans too (of the Third Order, the Penitentes), and the priests

may now say, as some do, that they have nothing against the rule of the Third Order but are interested only in ensuring obedience to the *true* rule of that order.

At the time of my study, all churches of the Rimrock area were missions, unable to support resident priests. Mass was said weekly in San Martín and monthly in Aspera and La Peña. Private devotions may be offered at shrines and churches in the absence of the priest, but for almost all purposes the priest is the indispensable administrator of the sacraments of the church: baptism, communion, mass, confession and penance, publishing of banns, marriage, funerals, the blessing of shrines and cemeteries, and so forth. In addition to the considerable weight given to the priests' advice and opinions, the position also carries with it great power and responsibility, arising from the fact that the priest may withhold the sacraments of the Church from impenitent transgressors. This power is not often exercised, nor is the threat of it always sufficient to deter the sinner, but it is nonetheless a considerable source of power and prestige.⁷⁰

Mayordomo. In the absence of a resident priest, the villages need some official

Los Mandamientos de la Ley de Dios

El primero, amarás a Dios sobre todas las cosas.
El segundo, no jurarás el nombre de Dios en vano.
El tercero, santificarás las fiestas.
El cuarto, honrarás tu padre y madre.
El quinto, no matarás.
El sexto, no fornicarás.
El séptimo, no hurtarás.
El octavo, no levantarás falso testimonio ni mentarás.
El noveno, no desearás la mujer de tu prójimo.
El décimo, no codiciarás las cosas ajenas.

Estos diez mandamientos se encierran en dos: en servir y amar a Dios sobre todas las cosas, a tu prójimo como a tí mismo.

Los Mandamientos de la Santa Madre Iglesia

El primero, oír misa entera los domingos y fiestas de guardar.
El Segundo, confesar a lo menos una vez dentro del año, por la Cuaresma, o antes si espera peligro de muerte o si ha de comulgar.
El tercero, comulgar por Pascua florida.
El cuarto, ayunar cuando lo manda la Santa Madre Iglesia.
El quinto, pagar diezmos y primicias a la Iglesia.⁷¹

to care for the church property between services and to act as host to the priest during his visits. For this purpose two *mayordomos*, usually a man and his wife, are appointed annually at the time of the fiesta of the patron saint. The appointment, usually involving merely the care of the church and responsibility for cleaning it before the periodic services, is made by the mayordomo of the preceding year. It is considered an honor, and can go only to a couple who are felt to be stable and responsible people. In larger parish churches, many of the functions of the mayordomo are taken over by the men's and women's societies.

Católico. After the ceremonies of confirmation and first communion, the communicant of the church is considered bound by the duties outlined in the catechism. The principal items of knowledge and belief there outlined are the Creed and Articles of Faith, the Commandments of God and the Church, the prayers to God and the saints, and the sacraments of the Church.

Because of their unique bearing on religious behavior, the Commandments are reproduced here.

The Commandments of the Law of God

First, thou shalt love God above all things.
Second, thou shalt not take the name of God in vain.
Third, thou shalt keep the feasts holy.
Fourth, thou shalt honor thy father and mother.
Fifth, thou shalt not kill.
Sixth, thou shalt not commit fornication.
Seventh, thou shalt not steal.
Eighth, thou shalt not bear false witness nor lie.
Ninth, thou shalt not desire thy neighbor's wife.
Tenth, thou shalt not covet the possessions of others.

These ten commandments are included in two: to serve and love God above all things, and thy neighbor as thyself.

The Commandments of the Holy Mother Church

First, to hear all the mass on Sundays and on feasts of obligation.
Second, to confess at least once a year for Lent, or before if expecting to be in danger of death or before taking communion.
Third, to take communion on Easter Sunday.
Fourth, to fast when the Holy Mother Church so orders.
Fifth, to pay tithes and first fruits to the Church.

⁷⁰ In one case in *San Martín* the priest forbade the customary wedding party, on pain, so the story went, of annulment of the marriage. The threat, if made,

was recognized as idle. The *casorio* was held anyway.
⁷¹ Ripalda, 1950, pp. 12-13.

Leaving aside the question of the Ten Commandments, the Commandments of the Church are taken quite seriously with the exception of the paying of "tithes and first fruits." It is doubtful whether the churches of the Rimrock area could be supported even by strict tithing, but it is certain that the offerings and gifts to the Church fall far short of the theoretical ten per cent.

Padrino. The ceremonies of baptism, confirmation and marriage involve the selection of godparents or ceremonial sponsors who not only play a part in the ritual, but also become thereby a kind of classificatory relative. For baptism it is customary to select three godparents, two of the same sex as the infant, and one of the opposite sex. For confirmation, another *padrino* of the same sex as the child is chosen. The practice at marriage is more variable; there may be one *padrino* (for the groom) and one *madrina* (for the bride), or there may be two or three or even four pairs of sponsors for a larger wedding. The relation between a godparent and his godchild (*ahijado*) is rather like that between uncle and nephew, or, in the case of marriage, where the two will be about the same age, between two cousins. The *padrino* of baptism typically furnishes the baby with a lacy white baptismal dress, although other gifts may be substituted. The best man (*padrino* of marriage) may help the groom to defray the very considerable expenses of the wedding. And beyond the formal ritual, reciprocal exchange of gifts or favors is expected as it is with true kinship relationships. It is noteworthy nonetheless that, as in Spain,⁷² *compadrazgo* is relatively unelaborated and de-emphasized in comparison with its immense importance among many of the hispanicized Indian groups in Mexico, such as the Yaqui, Zapotec, and Maya. The relation between two *compadres* is usually one of close friendship on the model of sibling and cousin relations.

It is the church which gives primary sanction to many of the life crisis roles. Besides those which indicate a position gained through specific church ceremonies, such as *bautizado* (baptised), *confirmado* (confirmed) and *casado* (married), there are others which are primarily defined for Hispano culture by canon law. The essential definition of an eligible bachelor (*soltero*) is religious, as is that of a widow or widower (*viuda, viudo*). Remarriage after the death of a spouse is the rule when such a death occurs early in life. A fiancé (*novio*) has his status confirmed in the publication of the church banns. An orphan (*huérfano*) would become a ward of the church if no one volunteered to adopt him.

Penitente. The role organization of a Penitente morada is at times more elaborate than that of the church. It proved impossible to get any extensive information on the Penitentes from San Martín informants, or even to get any of the villagers to admit to membership. The membership of a chapter is divided into two groups—the *hermanos disciplantes* (brothers in discipline) or common members, and the *hermanos de luz* (brothers of light), who are the officers. The head of the chapter is the *hermano mayor*. He is assisted in administrative duties by the warden (*zelador*) and the collector (*mandatorio*), and in ceremonial duties by an assistant (*coadjutor*), reader (*secretario*), blood-letter (*sangrador*) and flutist (*pitero*). An official called the nurse (*enfermero*) attends the flagellants, and a master of novices (*maestro de novios*) supervises the training of new members. Special assistants are appointed from time to time to visit the sick or perform other community services which the brotherhood may undertake. It is not known how many of these offices are currently filled in San Martín, the only village of the Rimrock area with a Penitente chapter, although one man who persistently denied membership was repeatedly pointed out as *hermano mayor*. Few if any young men seem

72. See Foster, 1951.

to be joining the organization. The San Martín chapter was reported to have held Holy Week processions and services inside the chapel in 1950, but no flagellation or crucifixion was reported. Despite the fact that it draws on the population of nearby Apache, the San Martín morada seems to be moribund. The semi-religious role of curer, already discussed, is apparently not filled in the Rimrock area.

In general summary, the religious life of the Hispanos is a blend of Roman Catholic and secular Spanish elements with a religious fraternity and an assemblage of magical witchcraft and curing practices. Its biggest ceremonials are the life crises of initiation, marriage and death, and the calendric observances of the Fiesta and Holy Week. Its role structure is simple, focussing on the padre, the mayordomo and the compadrazgo system, and its symbolism is the dramatic and elaborate hagiology of the European Catholic tradition. Its cosmology builds on the basic teachings of the Roman Catholic church, with a strong emphasis on acceptance of the "natural order" ordained by the will of God.

It would create a false impression not to mention in general conclusion the peripheral and obsolescent character of the Penitente and curandero systems in Hispano religion. Neither was a going concern in the Rimrock area during my study, and information could be obtained about both only obliquely, largely from the older generation and from poorer people. Neither the *cofradía* nor witchcraft belief have yet disappeared entirely from Hispano culture, but both are obviously on the way out. This is emphatically not the case for Catholicism, nor for the tradition of secular ritual.

ECONOMICS

The Hispanos of the Rimrock area have a badly shattered economic system. At one time the local livestock industry was predominantly theirs, and it is the acquisition of lands and grazing rights by other groups

which has been the major factor in the breakdown of the local Hispano villages and their depopulation. Lacking capital for mining or lumbering operations, and badly situated for any farming activities, the villagers who remain cling to the remnants of their cattle and sheep industry or eke out a living through occasional wage labor in industries controlled by other groups—agriculture, lumbering, and mining. To some extent they have slipped into interstitial positions in the distributional field—operating bars and small retail grocery stores, for example—or into relatively unskilled service jobs. Over a period of scarcely two generations, the largely self-sufficient subsistence economy of Hispano New Mexico has been almost totally disrupted, and the fragments have been reworked into the framework of the general economy of the United States. The result is that the Hispanos not only suffer, but suffer disproportionately the impact of dislocations in the American economy. They are still largely marginal to the American controlled industries, but can no longer fall back on their own traditional subsistence techniques.

Rico-Pobre. Considerable ink has been spilled over the question of social and economic class in Latin American and Spanish culture. There has been some attention to the problem in relation to the Hispanos specifically. It is clear that at least two very distinct *economic* classes are very commonly found—a very small and, at least in relative terms, extremely wealthy *rico* class, and a very large near-destitute *pobre* class. The very sharp bipolarity of income and capital wealth distribution amply supports the popular assumption of a two-class system in this respect.⁷³ With regard to *social* class, the evidence is more confusing. If we wish to predict things about one income group which are not true for another, we should look for discontinuous variations in cultural patterns from

73. Possibly the most convenient collection of evidence on this point is the Tewa Basin Survey (Anonymous, 1935).

one group to another. The attempt to apply a modified Warnerian class scheme to the New Mexico data seems, by this standard, to be more than a little forced.⁷⁴ Too often, the differentiating criteria are matters of degree only—a fact which need not destroy the descriptive value of the scheme, but which is unconvincing as evidence of class distinctions as the Hispano sees them. Still, there seem to be some genuine class differences in culture, even though we may not be able to divide them by six. Penitente membership, college attendance, fluency in English, house type, clothes styles, and possibly such other factors as attitude towards time, can be predicted with some accuracy by income groups. In small villages, however, a two-class system seems to describe and predict cultural phenomena more adequately than does a three or six-class model. Furthermore, the local usage does not seem to justify our assuming the existence of an institutionalized class system of any degree of elaboration. For most purposes *rico* and *pobre* cover the ground. Such expressions as *clase media* (middle class), *gente de razón* (“better class”), *ladino* and *tonto* are never used.

Patrón. Patterns of authority and of ownership of economic resources and planning of their use center in Hispano culture on the role of the *patrón*. This term, used generically and informally in ways quite closely analogous to the English “boss,” is not part of the explicitly structured role system, but appears from analysis to be one of the most crucial roles in the entire social system, combining elements of economic preeminence and authority with political power, religious qualification, family loyalties and aspects of the age and sex structure. In historical setting the *patrón* is a development of Spanish colonial society, but the boss system is variously developed in different parts of Latin America.

The *patrón* is the owner of all or most of the village land and of the herds of cattle or flocks of sheep which graze on it.

He thus becomes the employer of most or all of the villagers. On occasion he may also own a “company store,” and whether through such an institution or through personally extended loans, he is the primary source of credit and financial aid in times of crisis for his *gente*. He may have acquired this economic dominance by inheriting grants of land, or through astute manipulation of his economic opportunities, and in New Mexico he is omnipresent. Areas in which community grants of land were made in the Spanish colonial period (notably along the Rio Grande), and cities in which the Anglo class system has absorbed the Hispano population are characterized by an increased emphasis on collateral types of organization,⁷⁵ but even where it is breaking down the *patrón* pattern continues to exert a powerful influence over Hispano life.

The activities of the *patrón* in relation to many aspects of Hispano life are so varied that it is difficult to summarize them all. One can scarcely overestimate his importance. A “good patron” is paternalistic and benevolent, a kind of bank, employer, merchant, trader, entrepreneur, owner, insurance company and village father rolled into one. He maintains his position through his reputation for generosity, his ability to care for his people, his economic success and political power. There is much in his role that resembles the reciprocal obligations of a feudal lord to his tenants, but it frequently happens that unilateral action on his part can only be accepted by the *gente*; his economic success may give him a power which his tenants and employees have no way of curbing. The notorious system of debt peonage and its clear analogues are examples of this abuse.

In modern New Mexico, the *patrón* system is changing rapidly. The crowding out of wealthy Hispanos by big Anglo ranchers has resulted often in the anomalous phenomenon of an Hispano social structure with

74. See Senter, 1945.

75. See F. Kluckhohn, 1950.

an Anglo in its most important position of political and economic leadership. On occasion the Anglo may have some understanding of his position, and be able to assume this role with some success, but more commonly the result is mutual frustration and misunderstanding. Simultaneously with this change, the people are leaving the villages for wage labor in the cities, seasonal labor in agriculture, or herding jobs in other states. Thus the tightly knit Hispano village virtually owned outright by a single family is rapidly becoming history.

The staying power of an integrated system of community organization is nevertheless clearly illustrated in the Rimrock area villages of La Peña and Aspera. In both villages the one-time *patrón* has disappeared from the scene; ruined in the depression, he has sold out to Anglos, or moved away. Yet in both villages the wealthiest individuals (relatively but not absolutely dominant in their respective villages) retain something of the position of *patrones*. They are addressed and spoken of as *don*. They are consulted in all matters affecting community life: fiestas, elections, disputes with neighboring communities, events involving governmental rulings or interference, and so forth. The system is dying but it dies slowly. In San Martín two closely intermarried families share the patronship. Together they own over 90 per cent of all land owned by villagers, and at least the same percentage of the livestock. The generally acknowledged head of this double family has a bank in nearby Apache. Members of the family live in the five largest houses in the village, houses which completely overshadow the small three and four room mud-plastered dwellings of the bulk of the population. Some members of the family spend all or part of their time in other, larger towns, such as Albuquerque or Phoenix. It is generally recognized that these two interlocking families are the bosses of the village, but in many respects they fail to function as such. Virtually

none of the villagers are employed by them, since Navaho labor is cheaper for sheep-herding and range riding. They do take care of a large circle of "poor relatives," but offer little or no assistance to unrelated villagers. Members of the family have some political power, but they have apparently eschewed real involvement in political action, and that aspect of the patronship has been taken over by ambitious individuals from lesser families.

The *patrón* system of economic organization is still important in the Rimrock area, but it is clearly in decline, bringing severe social disorganization and personal disorientation in the villages. Coupled with the simultaneous loss of land control, this disorganization results in greatly accelerated cultural change and readjustment for the local Hispano population.

Caporal. As an adjunct to the *patrón* system, there developed on the haciendas and ranches an intermediate authority role, that of the foreman (*caporal*), sometimes also called *mayordomo* (overseer). The *caporal* was the resident boss, who actually rode with the herders and cowboys and personally directed their labor. He was responsible to the *patrón*. In the period when absentee landlords were the rule, the foreman's position was one of extreme importance, but with the decline of the *patrón* system and the reduction in size of the Hispano holdings, the position has tended to disappear. In the Rimrock area only one man occupies this position, supervising the sheep herders of the *patrón* of San Martín.

Trabajador. The laborer (sometimes called *labriego*, or *obrero*), has never been a true *peón* in New Mexico, for although New Mexico's economic organization has always been influenced by the Mexican model, the importance of the hacienda and *encomienda* systems in which workers were legally under the complete control of the *patrón* or owned outright, has never been great. Thus the New Mexico *patrón* may speak of his "gente" but he would not

call them "peones." The principal work in which the laborer engages has always been in the Rimrock area that of the sheep herder (*pastor, borreguero*) or cowboy (*vaquero*).

A special development in the history of New Mexico was the *partidario* system, in which a man who had a few head of stock (usually sheep) and no land would agree to work as a sheep herder or give to a landholder a percentage of his lambs in return for the right to graze his little flock with the larger herds of a *patrón*.⁷⁶ Still an important part of the sheep industry in New Mexico a generation ago, the *partidario* has almost entirely disappeared in recent years, his small livestock holdings swallowed up in the larger herds, usually to meet the obligations of the contract or to provide the herder and his family with subsistence.

The situation of the New Mexican laborer at times approximated debt peonage; however, the *patrón* system which engendered this also guaranteed security of a sort. The decline of the *patrón* system has eliminated both of these features of Hispano life. As the population has turned to wage work, it has also had to turn elsewhere for security and financial credit. In many places, including La Peña, the Anglo trader has taken on a part of this activity of the old *patrón*. Smaller Hispano storekeepers in San Martín have done the same thing.

Rancharo. Ranching is overwhelmingly the most important productive industry of Rimrock Hispanos, and in the villages of Aspera and La Peña virtually all heads of families are primarily *rancheros*, owning at least a small amount of range land and a few head of cattle. Other industries (farming, mining, lumbering, and hunting) are carried on casually or for Anglo employers, but the Hispano occupation is ranching. The concentration of lands and herds in the hands of two families in San

Martín excludes the remainder of the town's population from the industry, and the occupational dislocation has had a profound effect upon the people. New Mexican Hispano culture is firmly based on sheep and cattle ranching and the necessity of change in this fundamental economic pursuit has been a powerful factor in social change generally. The *rancheros* who are left are scarcely able to support themselves from their small holdings; most of them augment their incomes by occasional labor for other ranchers, farmers, companies or the government. Seemingly, however, they belong to the range; they are less disoriented even in straitened circumstances than their friends and relatives who have had to abandon the rural villages and seek employment in the cities.

Sembrador. A "planter" or farmer among the Hispanos of this area is only a part-time agriculturalist. A very few individuals have small gardens or orchards in which they grow table vegetables and fruits; a handful of the ranchers plant forage crops, useful in an area where livestock often have to be fed by the rancher to get through the winter. No Hispanos in the Rimrock area derive their primary livelihood from farming.

Leñador. Woodcutting is a profitable part-time business for perhaps half a dozen men in the three villages. Big lumbering operations have been undertaken in the nearby mountains by a number of Anglo companies, but the Hispano cutters restrict themselves to cutting and hauling the small timber for firewood, sold to farmers and ranchers in the area or hauled into town. To engage in these operations, the woodcutter has his own truck for the hauling.

Minero. At least three mines are in more or less continuous operation in the vicinity of the Rimrock area. In two of them Hispanos constitute the bulk of the laboring force. The third is operated by the Pueblo Indians. Very few of these

⁷⁶ The *partido* system is described in detail in Charles, 1940; Morris, 1937.

miners are residents of the Rimrock villages; they tend to be drawn from Apache or other more distant towns. Mining does not loom large in the local economy.

Cazador. There are no professional Hispano hunters, and in fact there is nothing among the Hispano population comparable to the enthusiasm with which the local Texans engage in hunting as an economic activity. Occasionally the boys or young men may go rabbit hunting, and even more rarely someone may hunt deer, but hunting does not appear to be viewed as a serious enterprise.

Cantinero. First among the exchange activities in the Hispano economy is probably bartending. At least five individuals in the three villages are licensed to sell liquor, and probably five more actually engage in trading and selling hard drinks without licenses. It is an open secret locally that much of this trade is illicit (*i.e.*, consists of selling liquor to Indians), but there is a strong feeling among the local Hispanos that there is nothing "wrong" with this, and one occasionally hears it stated that the prohibition is a "bad law." Illegal sale of alcoholic beverages to Indians is not restricted to Hispano bartenders or even to Hispano traders. It is widespread. The exchange takes place with varying degrees of caution, but nobody appears to make a serious attempt at enforcement of the law.⁷⁷

Tiendero. Sometimes in combination with bartending and sometimes as a completely distinct occupation, many Hispanos of the Rimrock area have become trader-storekeepers, usually on a small scale and often on a temporary basis. In this capacity, the operator of a "general store" is more than a merchant; he may also act as middle man in the marketing of some produce and he frequently advances credit. In all three of the villages studied there were empty buildings which once housed

the patrón's store, symbol and symptom of the former dominance of the great families; in all three cases these older and larger stores have been replaced by smaller establishments run by more modest families. The rise of these petty merchants is a significant development as the patrón families withdraw from this area of the economic system. In no case, however, has one of these merchants captured the entire trade of a village; nearby Anglo stores tend to be more generally used in every case. The small shopkeeper is, nevertheless, in a position to rise economically and socially, albeit at a slow pace, and in more than one instance locally has achieved political as well as economic prominence.

Maestro. Among the service occupations in which local Hispanos are engaged, perhaps the most prominent is that of schoolteacher. At least two local boys have "made good" in teaching, one having become principal of a school at the county seat; two or three of the teachers in the school at San Martín are also Hispanos. Coupled with the job of teacher in the rural schools are the posts of janitor and superintendent, often occupied by one of the teachers, whose salary may, under such circumstances, reach quite a respectable figure. None of the local Hispano teachers is in this "triple-threat" position, but the principal of the San Martín school is Hispano.

Chófer. Driving a school bus is a sought-after part-time occupation in the Rimrock area. One *chófer* (as the local expression for "bus driver" goes) takes the children of Aspera to school in Homestead, seven miles away. There is probably at least one other Hispano with this job in San Martín. The job is on a contract basis, the driver furnishing his own bus and paying for its upkeep, and is awarded on the basis of bids submitted to the school board. Despite the opportunity for an annual turnover in the contracts, there seems to

77. In 1953 the federal law forbidding the sale of liquor to Indians was revoked, and the states of Arizona and New Mexico have since followed suit.

be quite a considerable stability of tenure, and *chófer* is considered to be a job with overtones of the political.

Cherife. Corresponding to the Spanish colonial *alguacil*, the deputy-sheriff is the only law-enforcement officer actually in residence in the villages. He is called the *cherife* (as distinct from the sheriff, who is the *cherife mayor*), and the appointment, primarily political, carries a small stipend and little authority. San Martín is the only village of the three with a deputy sheriff actually in residence, and he seems to serve primarily as a messenger for the Justice of the Peace court in Apache. He serves warrants of arrest and subpoena and helps to maintain order in the courtroom during hearings, and appears to act only on specific authority of the judge (also an Hispano).

Postmistress. Two of the three villages have Hispano postmistresses; La Peña has an Anglo postmaster. The job is a political appointment and carries a small salary. It is remarkable in being the only position in the economic system occupied by women.

A number of other "service" occupations exist which are not apparently occupied in the Rimrock area by Hispanos. The one midwife located was a Texan army nurse; there are no local curanderos or herbolarios, and the villagers travel into town for hospital services and a doctor's care. The missionary priest is not supported by his parishioners but by mission funds from outside, although, like visiting politicians, he may be housed and fed by some fairly prominent family.

As part of the system of economic organization it may be mentioned that kinship obligations loom large in the matter of gift exchange and temporary loans of money or goods or equipment. *Compadrazgo* is sometimes important in this connection, too. A very special place in the economic system is now occupied by the veterans of the Second World War,

several of whom were attending special schools under the provisions of the "GI Bill" during the period of my visit. Because of a property qualification, only one Hispano veteran was able to join the local agricultural class at Homestead, but others from Aspera and San Martín moved into Apache for this purpose.

A number of part-time specialties exist which are engaged in by several local men: music, mechanics, carpentry, and a few less important skills may be included in this category. In no case do such skills provide a primary means of livelihood.⁷⁸

The Hispano economy of the Rimrock area is a simple system of two economic classes dependent upon the patterns of economic authority and ownership developed in cattle and sheep ranching, and now in a period of rapid change. The bulk of the population, once integrated by the ranching economy, has turned to occasional wage labor and marginal special service jobs for a living, while the breakdown of the old system has resulted in the appearance of a number of "petty patronships" built up by the operators of small bars and general stores. The villagers are increasingly dependent upon the towns for special services and upon wage labor for the cash with which to pay for such services. Many have already emigrated, and many more may be forced to move into the towns as the pressure on the land increases. The influence of the old system continues to be felt, and a new system has not yet emerged.

POLITICS

The Spanish colonial political structure which was brought to New Mexico by the early colonists has completely disappeared since the Mexican Cession of 1848. Even the names of local administrative and political offices have been forgotten. The autonomous *ayuntamiento* or *cabildo*, the *alcaldes* and *alguaciles* have been com-

⁷⁸ Patterns of economic consumption in an Hispano village are described in F. Kluckhohn, 1941. See also the Tewa Basin Survey (Anonymous, 1935) for a description of that aspect of economic behavior.

pletely replaced, and the villages have been incorporated into the complex system of American government, voting, paying taxes and otherwise participating in the operations of the school district, county, state and federal governments, and being influenced by the administrative and judicial decisions of the hierarchy of courts and government agencies at all levels of government. The Hispanos participate in this complicated and essentially foreign system in various ways, but they have managed to accommodate to its basic features, and to make it work at a local level.

Político. The key figure in the political system is the *jefe político* or political boss, whose position is very similar in function to that of the "ward boss" in city politics. The analogy becomes even better in relation to those city wards in which the boss performs as an intermediary between an acculturating foreign population and the American political machinery. Thus the *político* is not merely a politician, a seeker or holder of public office; he retains many of the loyalties and obligations inherent in the position of the *patrón*. The *patrón* who is also a political *jefe* has virtually disappeared from the New Mexico scene, but the *jefes* who remain continue to interpret their function in a personalized sense. The *político* is expected quite literally to take care of his constituents. He provides jobs for his relatives and friends and fellow-townsmen. He assists with his personal influence, special legal knowledge, and sometimes money, those of his adherents who appeal to him for assistance in difficulties with the courts or the government bureaus. He is accused of nepotism and venality and favoritism in public office, and is probably guilty as often as not, but as one *caporal* and self-appointed political "lieutenant" assured me, "*¡Hay que votar para el hombre que alimenta al pueblo!*" (One must vote for the man who feeds the people!)

Typically the *jefe político* is the holder of a paid elective office in the county or state government. Dependent upon the following (or "machine") that he can build

up for his job and his political "pull" while in office, he reciprocates by "taking care of his people" in return for their support. This function is not regarded as illicit, as the Anglo American press urges, but is regarded as the legitimate duty of a politician to his supporters, and their loyalty is his equally legitimate expectation.

The boss system has weakened the Hispanos in New Mexico by dividing their vote among a number of more or less prominent *jefes* in both major parties. It is a political axiom in the Southwest that Mexicanos do not vote as a bloc. They vote as a number of blocs. On the other hand, the system has softened many of the worst abuses of imposing a foreign political system on Hispano culture, by providing a partly effective recourse for Hispanos caught in the toils of a political and administrative system which they do not always understand.

Voter. The constituents of the *político* are classified by Anglo law into a bewildering variety of social categories which more or less overlap. These distinctions have never been taken over by Hispano culture to any great extent, but remain important in determining the treatment of Hispanos under the Anglo legal system. Thus, the definition of the voter, the taxpayer, the citizen, the resident, the minor or dependent, and the parent, are important in relation to the taxation system, the governing and administration of school affairs, the right to government aid in the social welfare programs, licensing for special activities, grazing rights and homestead rights, and a large variety of other activities. Hispanos look on the application of these somewhat arbitrary rules from a personalistic point of view, and use the *político* as a means of circumventing them where possible; Anglos are more likely to see the rules as an abstract system with moral overtones which should be administered without fear or favor universalistically.

Official. The Rimrock villages are small, and tend to have a minimum of

formal political structure. Homestead, the Texan community, is governed primarily by committees; Rimrock, the Mormon town, is organized primarily in cooperatives, more or less integrated with the church. The Hispano villages seem to depend upon informal organization of the family heads of the town, with the assumption of leadership by anyone who is willing to play the role of the *patrón*.⁷⁹ Since the breakdown of the more classical *patrón* pattern, the tendency is towards a loose factionalism, in which a number of individuals assume various functions of the old *patrón*. The formal positions of political importance are few and only partly assimilated to this pattern. There are in the villages Hispano school board members, deputy-sheriffs, school bus drivers, school principals, schoolteachers, school janitors, and postmistresses. Only in the case of the school board member does any of these positions carry any real political authority, and even there it would seem to be highly specialized. At election time, the villages organize the polls and the voting procedure through the standard "committeemen" system, but the structure which emerges at that time has no permanence. It would appear that in the past all three of the Rimrock area villages voted solidly Republican, a function of the stable *patrón* system, under which all the villagers tended to vote as the *patrón* did. At the present time, all three of the villages divide their vote between the two major parties, Aspera being predominantly Republican and San Martín being split with a slight Democratic majority. Apparently the new *políticos* tend to seek opportunity within the Democratic party. Some confirmation of this guess is to be found in the consistent "conservatism" of the large Republican vote in the northern counties of New Mexico, which have large isolated rural populations.

Various government officials visit the rural Rimrock area at intervals. They are

usually treated by the local people as "important men," and little attention is paid to their varying functions. Many of the county and state officials are Hispano; although some of them hold appointive rather than elective offices, virtually all of them conform to some extent to the pattern of patronizing friendliness expected of a *político*. Welfare workers, agricultural agents, highway department officials, forest service employees, Indian service personnel, school system officials, agents of the rural electrification program, and health officials were among the many governmental officers who passed through the area during the period of this study.

Pupil. One additional role of a semi-political character deserves special comment. Virtually all Hispano children in the Rimrock area attend school; thus the role of student becomes of crucial importance in relation to culture contact and acculturation. In most cases, the child starts school with almost no knowledge of English, but the language of instruction is English. At La Peña there was for some time a small school in which instruction was in Spanish, but it was discontinued about two years before the period of this study. The pupil is a primary point of contact between Anglo culture, usually represented by an Anglo school teacher, and the rural Hispanos. There is a widespread appreciation of the value of education on the part of Hispano parents, although economic necessity frequently limits the amount of time spent in school or the number of children from a particular family who may participate. Peer-group contacts between Anglo and Hispano children are also of very great importance in culture change, and it is probable that the shift to dating-courtship, for example, is accelerated by such interaction.

Local administration and governmental autonomy are informally structured in the Rimrock villages into a number of loosely organized familial factions. The *jefe polí-*

⁷⁹ For an analysis of problems in Hispano leadership, see Watson and Samora, 1954.

tico who heads the faction is the mediator and interpreter between the Hispano vil-
lager and the complex Anglo American
machinery of government, particularly as
it impinges on the schools, the highways,
farming and ranching, and law enforce-
ment. Relations between jefes or govern-
ment officials and the citizenry are pri-
marily structured in personal and familistic
terms. This system tends to cushion cultu-
ral differences and to slow the process of
cultural change, perhaps at the price of
group solidarity and effectiveness in politi-
cal action. It is possible that the system of
factions is evolving into some more stable
political form, but it is likely that it will
remain a feature of the Hispano political
system in New Mexico for some time to
come.

In general summary, it is striking that
Anglo culture has made the deepest in-
roads in the political area, which, except
for the institution of a boss system—the
classic defense of America's ethnic minori-
ties—has been completely Americanized.
The economic system is now in crisis, and
there are important changes underway in
the kinship and religious spheres of organi-
zation. Much of the traditional Hispano
culture may be changed or even swept
away within a generation but for the im-
ponderable factor of contacts with Mexico.
Hispano New Mexico has been thoroughly
willing to borrow heavily from Mexican
culture in even the very recent past. The
continued existence of Mexicano ethnic
identity in New Mexico may well hinge
on this.

Hispano Values

THE persistence of Hispano cultural distinctiveness in the face of pressure to adopt the general American culture patterns may be considered evidence of a set of distinctive values.

In analyzing the fundamental values of Hispano culture, three criteria served as indices to the general importance of the orientation under study: *pervasiveness*, the regularity with which a given orientation appears in different institutional contexts; *intensity*, judged from the appearance of strong affect or the provision of strong rewards and punishments, a kind of "economic" criterion of value importance; and *elaboration* of cultural forms, to indicate a long term value emphasis on the form. The analysis which follows is, then, an attempt to describe in relative terms the pervasive and intense value orientations which are elaborated in Hispano cultural patterns.¹

In Hispano culture and social organization, six general value orientations stand out with some degree of consistency and clarity. These are: traditionalism, familism, paternalism, personalism, dramatism, and fatalism. These orientations explain a large range of pervasive and intensely held Hispano attitudes that appear in behavior and in social structure.

TRADITIONALISM²

The assumption that Hispano culture is traditionalistic bears on much that is distinctive in relation to the cultural-linguistic patterns of the Mexicano role. The anti-neologistic tendency of New Mexican Spanish, and the persistence of archaisms, together with the considerable interest in these linguistic phenomena and the inter-

minable discussions of them, constitute evidence on this point when compared with burgeoning American slang. Important negative evidence is furnished by the insistent neologism of the Pachuco dialect, when we consider that pachuquismo is in large part a revolt against Mexicanism. A similar traditionalism is apparent in relation to other generalized patterns and pattern assemblages of the Mexicano role: the diet (cf. American fads), the song tradition (cf. American hits), the baile (cf. American dance crazes), the generalized religious behavior, both orthodox Catholicism and heterodox Penitentism (cf. American sectarian schisms), or the patterns of curing and of witchcraft (cf. experimentalism of American medical fads). In all these cases, moreover, there is not only a traditionalistic element, but also a related intensity of feeling.

The value of traditionalism is expressed equally coherently in the age structure. The principle of age seniority in Hispano culture stands in sharpest contrast with the "accent on youth" in general American culture, and there can be no doubt but what this is an attitude which is held with some intensity. Again the Pachuco revolt is instructive, considered as a reaction of youth against age in situations where the traditionalism is breaking down. This emphasis is not without its psychological cost, however, as the ambivalence towards the aged which is manifest in the witchcraft pattern attests. Something of this same ambivalence seems to be present in the almost condescending respect of the terms *viejito* and *viejita*.

The traditionalism of sex role organization appears in relation to parentally arranged marriages, the sexual segregation pattern, the formal arrangement of courtship, and the definition of the male and female spheres of life. The intensity of attitudes supporting these institutions is

1. For a general treatment of Hispano values, see F. Kluckhohn, 1941. For broader consideration of the values of general Spanish culture, see particularly Madariaga, 1931; and Williamson, 1949. See also Gillin, 1949, pp. 170-171; Ramos, 1934; Iturriaga, 1951; Pritchett, 1954; Hewes, 1954; and Northrup, 1947.

2. Cf. *costumbres* configuration in F. Kluckhohn, 1941.

manifest in the fact that changes in them become genuine issues, bones of contention between conservatives and radicals, and between men and women.

Traditionalism of kinship organization is strong, so strong indeed that three centuries of separation have resulted in no major differences between this institution in New Mexico and in rural Spain.³ Loyalty to family, emphasis on extended family relations, a simple but intense god-parent system, a double system of religious and secular family rituals, and modes of courtship and marriage may be interpreted as highly traditional and as involving the most binding emotional commitment in Hispano attitudes. Here many of the explicitly recognized *costumbres* are involved, and their maintenance is thoroughly bound up in the Hispano conception of the rightness of things. Changes in these patterns come about only in situations of extreme disorganization and in the face of the most explicit reluctance. The contrast with the mobile, nuclear, structurally isolated American family is clear.

The *costumbres* of the religious sphere are no less cherished, and the traditionalistic element in them no less emphasized. The contrast is marked, too, between this legitimation of ritual by reference to long established authority and, for example, the hyper-American doctrine of continuing contemporary revelation of the Mormon church. The "reason" for performing a ceremony in a particular way, or indeed for performing it at all, is simply that it has always been: it is the custom. In at least one case I observed the priest himself had to back down on a point of ritual when confronted with this attitude. It is noteworthy that the turmoil and actual apostasy in the religious life of colonial New Mexico resulted in only one lasting heresy, and that this sect, the Penitentes, traces its origin to a gradual evolutionary schism of great antiquity, thoroughly interwoven with traditional values at every

stage of its development. The intensity of religious belief is great, a fact abundantly documented by the time and effort expended in religious activity—on the decoration of the church itself, the manufacture and purchase of religious articles, and the participation in religious rituals. The church of an Hispano village stands out as surely as does the industrial and commercial skyline of an American city, and is challenged in its prominence only by the house of the *patrón* and the recent Anglo-built schools.

Economic traditionalism remains as a tendency in Hispano life, but under severe outside pressure on the economic and political organization, traditional structure has everywhere given way. Thus the *patrón* system and such corollary patterns as the *partidario* system of sheep herding have steadily given ground to wage labor as the primary economic activity of the Hispanos of New Mexico. Necessity, education, and patient governmental interference have brought about major technological changes in all but the most isolated villages. Furthermore, in many cases Hispano resistance to these changes has been half-hearted and inconsistent. The Hispano economic leaders, who should have been the ones to resist these changes, found that they could profitably collaborate with the Anglo businessmen, and consistently failed to foresee or forestall their own gradual dispossession. Hispanos apparently did not view their economic institutions as unalterable *costumbres*, and suffered them to be changed radically, feeling only a vague and increasing confusion over the cognate changes which followed in other areas of life. Traditionalism in economic activity may still be seen in the consistent Hispano preferences for irrigation farming and livestock raising; however, there is an increasing tendency toward education for other and more specialized occupations. Resistance to these changes may well be phrased as value conflict, in which an incompletely assimilated progressivism competes with the yet recognizable traditional desire for

3. Cf. Pitt-Rivers, 1954, p. 32.

residential stability and established kinship ties.

The Anglo invasion of New Mexico brought about sweeping economic changes without conscious planning on anyone's part; the transfer of political control, however, was the subject of conscious controversy, in which Hispano traditionalism stood directly in the path of Anglo progress. Both cultures yielded in the compromise system of political organization which emerged, but the basic pattern was Anglo. The continued power of the patrón as a political jefe gave Hispano culture a breathing spell in which to adjust to the inevitable change, but elimination of Hispano local government and law were drastic changes, and the adaptation has been slow. The boss system within both major political parties has been the primary focus of Hispano traditionalistic loyalties thwarted by the operation of Anglo universalistic law. In time, moreover, the Hispano traditionalism has reappeared as the election procedures and local administrative offices have become familiar. In its broad outlines, nevertheless, the sweeping change in land ownership laws and the court system has been the primary lever by which Anglos have forced acculturative changes in Hispano culture, an impact felt first in political and economic life, and then progressively in other areas of culture. Traditional values are discernible in the Hispano reactions to this change: reluctance to go to court, preference for dealing with administrative officers who are friends or relatives, reliance on the nepotism of the boss system for political justice rather than on abstractly applied rules. The system has changed, but it has changed slowly and reluctantly.

FAMILISM AND PATERNALISM⁴

The assumption that Hispano culture is familistic implies not only that family loyalties are important, but also that their influence extends throughout the whole culture and furnishes the organizational

model for relationships outside the sphere of kinship. Since paternalism is also a general configuration on a kinship model, it is convenient to consider the two orientations together.

In relation to ethnicity familism explains the extraordinary importance of kinship ties in such elementary matters as group and personal identification. The slang term *Manito* (little brother) for the New Mexican Hispanos as a group, the use of kinship terms rather than personal names in introductions, the conception of friendship on the kinship model, with extended use of *primo* (cousin) and *compadre* and other kinship terms to non-relatives, all illustrate the familistic tendency. Life is difficult, at least initially, for a stranger in an Hispano village, but a friend of a relative is no longer a stranger. The tendency to local endogamy creates a situation in which there are no resident non-relatives; there are only nearer and more distant ones. Paternalism may be said to intervene here to structure the familism in a strongly patriarchal way. The Spanish terms which are derivatives of the Latin *pater* are like a summary of the key positions in the social structure and ethos: *padre* (father, priest, God), *papá* (daddy), *papa* (the Pope), *patrón* (boss, "mayor," employer, political leader), *padrino* (godfather), *compadre* ("co-parent," co-godparent, "buddy," friend).

In relation to age, the familistic orientation of Hispano culture explains the quasi-parental authority of older people in general over the youngsters of a village. The influence of paternalism may be seen in the general superordination of the male sex, as in the relationship of an older brother to younger siblings.

Familism as a guiding principle in sex relationships may be seen in the parental arrangement of marriage, now waning in importance, in the mode of courtship under family chaperonage, in a conception of marriage primarily as the establishment of a new family rather than as a relationship between two individuals. The division

4. Cf. *familia* configuration in F. Kluckhohn, 1941.

of labor by sex emphasizes the roles of wife and mother as the home-centered focus of the family, while the husband and father is the family's representative in most larger community functions. Hispano culture clearly subordinates all other feminine roles to the primary familistic ones. It has been noted that a man's position and prestige are significantly dependent on his basic qualification as a head of household. The subordination of women to men in a number of contexts, giving to Hispano culture a general appearance of patriarchy, may be further related to the paternalistic value emphasis.

The paternalistic familism of the culture must be interpreted with respect to kinship as a matter of stress. It is true that all cultures have some kind of family and some attribution of at least sociological paternity. In Hispano culture, however, the importance of these institutions is considerably expanded. It has been mentioned that virtually all social relationships in an Hispano village develop against a background of real or assumed, close or distant kinship. Complete unrelatedness such as might be assumed in a tight caste system is not really credible to the Hispano, as is evidenced, for example, in the fact that even religious, cultural, and racial endogamy are only relative tendencies rather than absolute laws. The story is told of a primitive tribe who killed the first white man they saw because they didn't know what else to do with him. This might be paraphrased for the Hispano case that persons who cannot be fitted into some category of real or fictitious kinship (if we include potential affinal relationships, friendship and *compadrazgo*) are treated with hostility or shy withdrawal because the Hispano doesn't know what else to do with them. One need hardly say that this is an overstatement for the modern urban situation, but it is difficult to overemphasize the degree to which this conception of kinship has influenced rural Hispano behavior in relation to Anglo culture. Coupled with the benevolent paternalism of

the Hispano family, the familistic attitude has profoundly influenced choices between alternatives presented in the acculturation situation.

In relation to economics the case is particularly clear. The hardness of the *patrón* system in preference to universalized programs of job security and social justice, the persistence of fraternally organized community enterprise or even economic tenancy in preference to individual business ventures into the *gesellschaftliche* Anglo world, may be attributed in major respects to the value placed on familism and the respect accorded to the *paterfamilias*.

The familistic nature of Catholicism, and perhaps especially of Spanish Catholicism, is well-known. The paternalistic element seems also to be obvious. These are features, not only of the mythology and folklore of religion, but of its organization, legal system, and ceremonialism as well. The Holy Mother Church, bride of Christ, who is the Father and the Son (thus apparently relegating God to the grandparental position), the Holy Family, the sacraments corresponding to life crises in family organization, the ritual kinship of *compadrazgo*, the priest-father, and nun-sister, and the lineal hierarchy of the Church, as well as the confraternities (of which the Penitentes are the New Mexican representative) are but a few of the familistic-paternalistic elements in Hispano religious life. The intensity of devotion to these patterns and symbols matches their pervasiveness.

The familistic element in political organization is immediately recognizable in the assumption that authority figures should be male, that nepotism in political life is natural and inevitable, even a sign of fulfillment of duty on the part of a man in office, that one's access to political and administrative justice is necessarily through relatives and friends rather than through channels and influence. The careers of prominent New Mexico politicians,

both Hispano and Anglo, are frequently archetypical of paternalistic familism.

DRAMATISM⁵

The description of a culture with traditionalism, paternalism and familism as its salient features tends to create a picture of rigid and unchanging structure which represents Hispano culture rather badly. A thorough treatment must include the spontaneity and color which are no less frequently noted by observers of the Spanish and Spanish American cultures. In at least some contexts, it would seem, the Hispano tendency is to choose the more dramatic of two or more functionally analogous patterns.

That this may be a long-standing and deep-seated preference is indicated by the structure of the Spanish language in its potentiality for what might be called "attributive generalization." In contrast with English or Navaho, Spanish has an almost complete structural differentiation of nominal and verbal forms. (The gerund and infinitive are minor exceptions.) On the other hand, Spanish adjectives (and the past participle as a verbal adjective) are almost invariably susceptible to nominalization. Such Spanish forms as *valiente* (brave, hero), *morena* (dark, brunette), *enganchado* (hooked, contract laborer) and *loco* (crazy, idiot) illustrate the tendency. There is, moreover, some stylistic use of the reverse equation, in which noun forms are used adjectivally, as in "*es muy hombre*" (he is very much a man). More famous, and just as distinctive, is the Spanish elaboration of adjectival suffixes, as in *mamacita* (mamma dear), *narizón* (schnozzola), *luegito* (in just a minute), *gordote* (fat slob), *hombrecillo* (pint-size man) and many others. These features may be interpreted as coupling "things" with the full body of their "color"—size, emotional tone, and other imagery—a tendency certainly consistent with the general dramatism of Hispano culture. Every country is a land of contrasts, but the contrasts in

Hispano culture are played up, emphasized—dramatized, in short, by being made the center of attention. Within the limits apparently imposed by other value orientations, Hispano culture is dramatic. This tendency appears to varying degrees in all aspects of life.

With respect to age, there are the important life crisis rituals, from baptism to mourning. These are not occasions, moreover, for subdued respectability or genteel hiding of feelings. The celebrations of a birthday or saint's day, of an engagement or a wedding or a wake and funeral are occasions for public display of emotion.

Anglo culture has nothing strictly comparable to the everyday (or at least every Saturday night) drama of the Hispano baile. Anglo flirtation and courtship take place as privately as possible; in an Hispano village everybody participates vicariously. The sex roles themselves are dramatically defined. The area of possible overlap in the behavior of men and women is very restricted, and the contrast between the sexes gains in emphasis and hence in drama by the clarity of the distinction—the coquettish and naive femininity of the girl, the proud *machismo* of the boy.

Kinship solidarity is dramatized in the life crisis rituals, which are essentially family affairs, and family pride (sometimes extended to the great family or the interrelated village) is emphasized in these as well as in community rituals. Not infrequently a village is named for a particularly prominent (or numerous) local family: Los Lunas, Los Chávez, Márquez, etc. Perhaps the most dramatic illustration of kinship ties occurs in the dynastic marriages of patrón families, and the opposite feuding relationship between two large families competing for village leadership.

Dramatism in Hispano religious rituals is pervasive and intense. The true drama of the folk plays (*Los pastores*, *Los cristianos y los moros*, and others) is no longer

5. Cf. *fiesta configuration* in F. Kluckhohn, 1941.

found, but the Catholic-Penitente Holy Week Ceremonial and the annual Fiesta persist in even the most thoroughly disorganized communities. Equally colorful against the sober background of the desert and poverty is the pageantry of the Church, with its pantheon of saints, richness of traditional ritual, and elaboration of symbolism.

The dramatizing tendency also affects economic life. The Hispano cowboy tradition is just as colorful as Hollywood's although largely independent of it, and, in addition, emphasizes an occupation in which a considerable proportion of the Hispano population is still engaged. Equally important is the display of wealth and pride of position of the patrón, in which his gente vicariously participate. For a sheepherder every day in town is a small fiesta in which he may play at being king for a day, expending a month's wages or more on a two or three day fling with friends and relatives. This kind of drama is everybody's right; in the "old days," one is told, a patrón was always willing to advance the money for a "necessary" fiesta, public or private. The constant round of these fiesta obligations is a continual source of complaints from Anglo employers about the reliability of Hispano labor, and a salient example of intercultural misunderstanding. The Hispano premise that a day's work is only a day's work whether performed now or later is in the most direct conflict with the equally basic Anglo premise that money and time are interchangeable commodities.

The necessity for drama pervades political life as well. In the Hispano political rally the framing of issues or the presentation of candidates' qualifications are strictly secondary aims; the primary feature is a good show, and the appeal to family ties and cultural tradition is calculated with great finesse. With increasing acculturation the appeal to *raza* sentiment has lost much of its effectiveness, but Hispano political meetings remain the despair of campaign managers. One public rela-

tions specialist told me with amazement of a big rally held in the state capital which started over an hour late, and at which the main speaker failed to show up at all; nobody even remembered to call the newspapers, yet everyone felt it was a great success!

PERSONALISM⁶

Hispano culture tends to accent individuality and individual "liberty" fully as much as does Anglo American culture, and possibly more, but in a distinctive way. Where American law defines the limit of liberty as the point at which one begins to trespass upon the rights of others, Hispano custom institutionalizes just such trespass. Where Americans emphasize individual initiative it is a well socialized initiative; where Americans stress self expression it is the self expression of the well-adjusted. Hispano culture transcends these limits in a system which seems to approach anarchy. Americans respond well to abstract and ideological loyalties; the Hispanos place loyalty on a personal basis. Writers in English have sometimes tended to obscure the essential "democracy" of Spanish institutions. We will argue that the core of this democracy is in a deep-seated value emphasis on personal integrity and on the personalism of social relationships.

From this point of view, the recent development of team sports is an important change in Spanish and Spanish American culture. The more characteristic Spanish pattern is the single hero of the bullfight, a man in the act of heroic self-fulfillment for the vicarious enjoyment of all the people. For "success" is not the focus of attention at a bullfight; it is rather the personal valor and artistry of the *torero* which excite attention and command respect. Nobody ever "wins" a bullfight. Characteristically, the forms of economic and political authority in Hispano culture take the same form. Government by committee

6. Cf. *personalismo* in Williamson, 1949, and Madañaga, 1945, p. 38.

is possible in Anglo culture; it is so unstable in Hispano culture as to be merely an ephemeral transition between strong men.

The hierarchical structuring of age roles in Hispano culture would seem to preclude personalistic patterns in relation to age, but the structuring is vague and the range of individual expression enormous. In a subtle sense difficult to pinpoint, customs are less rigidly binding than seems natural to an Anglo; rules are less important. If a man doesn't "act his age" or if a child will not do as he is told—well, that's Manuelito for you. The essence of Hispano personalism is that Manuelito is always Manuelito first and a social entity second, and that this idiosyncrasy is respected as Manuelito's right.

In relation to sex role, the explicit subordination of women tends to preclude feminine self-expression, but there are dramatic exceptions to this rule, such as the career of Evita Perón, which illustrate the absolute character of self-fulfillment in Hispano personalism. Hispano women laughed when I suggested a woman might run for governor of New Mexico, yet women have become bullfighters!

Personalism tempers even the ties of Hispano kinship. One may live in a world made up almost entirely of relatives, but one conceives likings for some relatives and dislikes for others, and such matters are freely discussed. It is taken for granted that a mother has a favorite child, or that siblings do not all get along equally well with each other. One even hears sober and realistic appraisals of spouses: "She is a good woman" bears the definite implication that "she" might have been the speaker's wife without this qualification. In Hispano culture it is not what one is that furnishes the basic criterion for assessment of individuals, but the unique spark of personal being which is assumed to be ever different.

The personalistic emphasis in Hispano culture seems to compromise with the ecu-

menical claims of the Catholic church, but it does not submit to regimentation, even in the religious sphere. In New Mexico there is a strong historical current of apostasy, which, however, like revolution, bullfighting and political patronship, remains personal. It never approximates the anarchically institutionalized Protestant pattern, but is reserved as the protest of the occasional "great man." There is a general lack in Hispano folk religion of the coercive orthodoxy of the Irish or German Catholic traditions.

Personalism remains an essential feature of the Hispano economy. Impersonal commercial credit operations in the Anglo style are eschewed whenever possible in favor of personal loans. The requirements of a rationalized industry or a universalized system of industrial relations are subordinated to the personal relationships between boss and employee.

Similarly in the political system, personal relationships take the place of abstract application of principles. Furthermore, the system is geared to the exceptional individual. The aristocrat in American culture is forced into a display of egalitarian democracy; in Hispano culture it is expected that the leader, patrón, or jefe will indulge in displays of power and authority which demonstrate the unlimited personal prestige which is the hallmark of the man on horseback. Personalism describes how the humblest Hispano can vicariously enjoy such displays without sensing an invidious contrast to his own status. For every man may aspire to exactly the same kind of self-fulfillment, and may expect that his personal dignity be respected in his relations with other people of whatever station in life.

FATALISM⁷

Despite the keen sense of drama and emphasis upon an extreme self-determination in Hispano culture, there remains a strong

⁷ Cf. acceptance configuration in F. Kluckhohn, 1941.

element of fatalism in the value system. Even in the area of linguistics, New Mexican Spanish has a tendency toward extensive use of the impersonal passive reflexive form of verbs where English would use the active with a definite agent. This usage has the effect of making the speaker appear as the helpless object to whom things happen, rather than the master of his fate with an active part in his own destiny. "Se rompió" (it broke itself), "se perdió" (it lost itself), and other such expressions of fatalistic acceptance of things which "just happen" are a source of wonder and despair to Anglo housewives with Mexican servants, but they are a precise expression of the Mexican attitude towards the position of man in an uncontrollable universe.

Where Anglo Americans spend enormous amounts of money on preventive medical care and life insurance, Hispanos give a characteristic shrug of acceptance of death and illness as inevitable. Where Anglo Americans dread the process of aging and attempt to combat and master it, Hispanos accept it if not with gladness at least with stoicism and resignation. Death is a familiar subject of conversation, recognized in stereotyped but classical phrases as unavoidable, rather than being spoken of by circumlocutory phrases as something not quite decent.

Fatalism may be perceived too in the assumption of Hispanos that an unchaperoned boy and girl will inevitably engage in sexual intercourse and that the notion of individual responsibility as Anglo culture applies it in this context is hopelessly unrealistic.

In relations between the sexes and in the context of kinship, fatalism is perhaps best illustrated by the husband-wife attitudes. In a culture where rigid monogamy is the nearly universal rule, a considerable element of resignation and acceptance is required to make the marriage system work. Here again the Anglo idea seems

to be more "interventionist," and provides the "rational" alternative of relatively free divorce.

It is in the field of religion that Hispano fatalism is perhaps best illustrated, for it is here that the contrast appears between Hispano acceptance of the will of God and the natural order of things and the Anglo emphasis on nature subordinated to the will of man. A cultural contrast could hardly exist more starkly. Hispano villages blend into the landscape; Anglo villages dominate it. Hispanos accept drought and soil erosion as part of God's inscrutable order of things; Anglos combat them with dry ice, dams, reforestation and soil conservation practices. Hispanos adhere to a church which combats "artificial" birth control. Anglos would like to control everything as "artificially" (*i.e.*, technologically) as possible.

In economic affairs, Anglo culture maximizes the motivational value of ambition and sets the goal at success; Hispano culture might be said to emphasize the motivations of duty and loyalty and is willing to discount and live with failure. The lack of interest in planning and forehanded investments which has given the Spanish countries the nickname "mañana-land" are totally consonant with Hispano fatalism which accepts what comes as what must come.

In politics, too, the pronounced activism of the Anglo contrasts with the political apathy of the Hispano. Hispanos are enthusiastic politicians, but they do not tend to view politics as an arena in which moral and ethical battles take place for the building of a progressively better world. Except where greatly influenced by Anglo culture, they award their politicians higher status than do Anglos, because they do not expect them to be saints. They have saints, and they know that a good saint does not necessarily make a good politician. The abuses of politics are recognized but they are accepted; they may even be deplored,

but there is a widespread feeling that good and evil are old problems which will doubtless continue to exist; in short, the Hispano takes his politics as he takes so many other not-quite-utopian aspects of life, fatalistically.

These are the basic values we have been able to isolate from a detailed consideration of Hispano social structure. In comparison with general American culture it is traditionalistic, familistic, paternalistic; it emphasizes the dramatic and the personal, and it accepts this cultural order of things fatalistically as ordained by God. By reversing the comparison we have just made, we can get an image of our own

culture as reflected in the Hispano mirror. Where Hispano culture is traditionalistic, American is progressive; where the Hispano values familism, the American emphasizes individualism. Where Hispano culture is paternalistic, American is egalitarian, and where the Hispano prizes drama, the American substitutes utilitarianism. Where Hispano culture is personalistic, American culture values a group-oriented and abstract morality; where Hispano culture is fatalistic, American culture is markedly activist. There can be little doubt that despite some generic similarity, the two cultures differ to an enormous degree.

Conclusions

WE have presented a picture of Hispano society in terms of its institutional values, contrasting it in detail and in general to the Anglo society of the United States at large. The systematic differences between Hispano and Anglo society reflect the orientation of the former towards familism, paternalism, dramatism, personalism, traditionalism and fatalism. It may be useful to reflect on the persistence of these differences and its causes.

Two orders of explanation are especially frequent. On the one hand, it can be argued that values endure because they are built into an enduring socio-cultural system. On the other hand, values may be said to persist because they are part of a motivational system, transmitted from generation to generation with considerable stability.

In the last analysis, of course, cultural values can manifest themselves in behavior only through individuals who, consciously or not, have learned them from other individuals in particular socio-cultural contexts. Ontogenetically it is widely accepted that the most enduring orientations are those learned earliest, in relation to the establishment of an individual's psychological identity and in reaction to early social disciplines. "Phylogenetically," cultural values will tend to live longest when the system gives the individual the maximum opportunity to learn them and to pass them on to other individuals. A social structure which rewards and punishes individuals systematically for behavioral responses of some general type will tend to the perpetuation of its values. If these are pervasive, elaborated and charged with affective intensity, the learning and communication of them will be that much surer.

A value orientation acquired early would *ipso facto* have the optimum opportunity to generalize to other roles because in the

individual's life span it has more time to do so. Furthermore, a child will generalize in this way because he goes from generic early roles to specific later ones. This specificity, coupled with the generalization of what has been learned,¹ guarantees elaboration. I have assumed that the degree of structure introduced by the value pattern would be proportional to the effort required to learn it, and hence to the affect generated. The equation would seem to be reversible, too, for unless a number of cultural contexts (*i.e.*, different roles) tend to reinforce motivationally similar patterns of values, the individual will be constantly learning new and jarringly different orientations, and continuity and stability of the "system" of values will be disrupted.

The persistence of value orientations through long periods of time seems to require both the endurance of a social structure embodying such orientations and the systematization of the learning and transmission of them from one generation to another. Only when both of these conditions are met can the progressive logico-aesthetic integration of cultures retain its place as a stabilizing process in the flux of history. Only individuals strongly oriented in a given direction can carry over the "values" learned in one institutional context to another through role generalization.

A certain amount of confusion has been generated by studies which seemed to imply that cultural configurations are uniquely responsible for the persistence of values, or which tried to trace ethos to psychology as its "real" cause. I am convinced that the intermediate and synthetic position of social organization has been underplayed in these considerations. The persistence of the Hispano value system in New Mexico seems to me to be dependent on the persistence of Hispano

1. In anthropological terms this generalization could be called *intra-cultural diffusion*.

culture—the Spanish language, folk traditions of science, religion, art, literature and music—and upon the persistence of patterns of motivation of a psychological order which I shall presently explore, but also on the persistence of a partly autonomous Hispano society, enshrining, protecting and regularizing transmission of the values we have been tracing.

Hispano social structure is marked by a diffuse emphasis upon age seniority but without formal age grading apart from the Anglo school system. There is a rigid pattern of segregation of the sexes from childhood (about age six) and a consistent and explicit sexual division of labor both within the household and in relation to general cultural participation. The kinship terminology is of a European lineal type and the bilateral extended family or kindred, though rather vaguely defined, is emphasized as a major unit of the society. The incest prohibition extends to first cousins, although marriage with a first cousin is possible with ecclesiastical consent. The exogamous unit is therefore the "nuclear kindred." One finds no patterns of formalized joking and respect relationships, avoidance, preferential marriage or endogamy, but a general tendency towards cultural, "racial," religious and possibly community endogamy does exist. Preferred post-marital residence is patrilocal as to village but neolocal as to house, and the typical household consists of the nuclear family with occasional inclusion of the isolated members of the "nuclear kindred." Multiple patrilineal lineage name-groups were formerly important but only the patronymic surname continues to be used. There is no tendency towards name-group exogamy. Religious participation is general in relation to the calendric ceremonials of the Roman Catholic Church, especially Holy Week and Fiesta, and in relation to the life crisis rituals of the Church, the Penitente fraternity, and the secular culture, especially for baptism (initiation), marriage, and death. The practice of folk medicine and a continuing

belief in witchcraft are but loosely integrated with the remainder of the religious system. The traditional economy places a highly centralized control in the hands of the patrón, and creates a strongly bipolar distribution of income and economic power, not offset by any formalized communal or cooperative economic arrangements for work, credit, investment, distribution or mutual aid, although such arrangements are common elsewhere in the Spanish world. Recent changes in the economic system have tended to break up the centralized control into a large number of disconnected or loosely connected subsystems ("patronships"). The political system traditionally runs parallel to the economic system, and is marked by centralization of power and authority in the hands of the patrón and his kindred. As the Anglo political system has formally replaced the Hispano one, the informal pattern of political patronship has also broken up, and paralleling the changing economic structure a large number of minor political subsystems have begun to emerge. Aside from the nuclear and extended families and the corresponding household units, the village itself is the major structural unit of religious, economic and political life. There is a general absence of associations in the village communities, though religious societies, labor unions, company enterprises, partnerships, political parties, clubs, and civic associations are beginning to spread from the largest cities of New Mexico into the towns and villages. Hispano social structure in general remains comparatively *gemeinschaftlich*: folk rather than sophisticate, rural rather than urban. Pushed into an economically marginal position in the larger society, the Hispano has managed to retain a relatively equitable share of political power and to preserve the stability of his way of life in the religious, age, sex and kinship spheres.² This portrait of Hispano culture is one of a culture

2. Helpful summaries of work on Mexican character are to be found in Iturriaga, 1951 and Hewes, 1954. Particularly important among New Mexican materials are Hawley and Senter, 1946; Senter, 1945; and Eerden, 1948.

in change—a change for which it is unprepared and to which it is unaccustomed. It is not, however, the death mask of a culture soon to disappear.

On the basis of present evidence, it appears unlikely that macroscopic differences in character structure between Hispanos and Anglos can be traced to infancy. The picture we get of permissive weaning and delayed sphincter discipline in Hispano culture does contrast to a degree with the relatively stricter and earlier imposed frustrations which were at least formerly general in the United States as a whole. On the other hand, Hispano theory is often (one might even guess “typically”) abandoned in practice due to the arrival of numerous closely spaced siblings. It is likely therefore, that the modal treatment of infants does not differ sufficiently in the balance of gratification and frustration to provide an explanation of the persistent differences between the two cultures.

Childhood is a period in which significant cultural variability does begin to appear. With the beginning of speech, the acquisition of mobility, the establishment of sphincter control and the end of oral dependency, the nascent emergence of a conception of self, and the differentiation of infantile genital sexuality, the child enters on a new and highly complex period in which he will get markedly different treatment in Anglo and Hispano New Mexico. A few facts about socialization differences between the two cultures seem fairly well established. These facts may be said to focus on the roles of the nuclear family system which is the child's milieu.

The presence of both parents in the home is a typical feature of Hispano family life contrasting with the typical absence of the Anglo father during most of the child's waking day. Thus the Hispano father early takes over the function of disciplining the children, while the Anglo mother continues to be the primary disci-

plinary agent until the children leave the home for school. The Hispano mother apparently gives up corporal punishment and comes to play the role which her structural subordination to the *paterfamilias* demands of her, a role of guidance and verbal protest enforced by the threat of withdrawal of love rather than by physical punishment. The Anglo mother, by contrast, is under no such subordination, and frequently continues to use corporal punishment, although in this respect there may be considerable variability among social classes in the United States. A result is the intense concentration of feeling and the high degree of ambivalence towards female authority figures, which has been called “momism.” Typically the relations between an Anglo father and his child are less intense and more variable.

The relationship between siblings presents an equal contrast. The Hispano system resolves conflicts between siblings by a hierarchical principle, in which older siblings achieve quasi-parental status and younger siblings are expected to submit. In sharp opposition to this pattern, the Anglo system organizes sibling relationships around a cooperative-reciprocal mode in which the object is equality, sharing, taking turns, or, in its negative phases, getting even and keeping up.

As a result of this complex of factors (including differing amounts of contact, different handling of discipline, and different organizational forms in peer group relations) the motivational patterns established in early childhood should be quite different. Lineal dominance and submission feelings become the basis of explicit structuring in the Hispano system, while collateral and reciprocal motivations are correspondingly stressed by Anglos. The sex roles are inculcated with considerable explicit differentiation by Hispano culture, while the father's absence from the Anglo home a considerable part of the time reduces the symmetry and clarity of

sex role discriminations and motivational identifications. The Hispano child emerges with a high degree of sensitivity to paternal authority figures and to questions of hierarchy, and with a fear of maternal rejection, while the Anglo child has learned to be fair and equal in his peer relationships while retaining a degree of ambivalence toward maternal authority and of sensitivity to reciprocally defined "rights," not only with his peers, but by extension between his parents, and possibly between them and himself.

In generalizing this picture of childhood to the adult motivational system to which it leads, we must deal in some fashion with the process of role generalization. This may be illustrated in relation to the learning of sex roles. The child's relation to his parents in both cultures comes to be differentiated in terms of his developing capacity for sexuality and awareness of sexual differences. It will be obvious that the differences between the two cultures in socialization patterns is sufficient to affect markedly the identification taking place in the Oedipal phase of development. The Hispano girl is sensitized in this phase to an ambivalence between a relationship of father-love and the restrictive-protective discipline imposed by her father. If she eventually identifies with her mother she would be expected to use her mother's technique for dealing with such frustration, namely, the threat of rejection. The Hispano boy is in a position archetypal of Freud's original formulation of the Oedipal drama for strongly "patriarchal" cultures. His attachment to his mother and jealousy of his father would be intensified by the strong paternal discipline, and made painful by the fear of maternal rejection. Eventual establishment of an identification with his father will mean adoption of his father's authoritarian paternalism, but he will remain sensitive to the threatened withdrawal of love. The Anglo child's experience will be significantly different. The absence of the

father from the home, and the intense concentration of affect upon the mother (unrelieved, as in Hispano culture, by the easy accessibility of other kinsmen who may serve as parent-surrogates) should mean a weakening of the intensity of the girl's father cathexis and of the boy's Oedipal jealousy. Correspondingly the mother is readily available to serve as appropriate role model for the girl, but the boy is less adequately provided for. This should make some degree of identification confusion likely in relation to sex roles. In all of this, the complex problem of identification and role generalization may be seen to be compounded by significant cultural differences.

We may postulate that the attitude and motivational sets we have been describing for childhood should generalize the adult role patterns with considerable stability and consistency. The adult sex roles are one example of this generalization process. On the hypothesis that spouse and sweetheart behavior patterns will be emotionally derivative in large part from the patterns established in childhood between siblings, and between children and parents, we may derive a contrast which appears to accord with the facts. Hispano husband-wife relations reflect the hierarchical dominance-submission relationship early learned in sibling relations. They further involve a volatile balance of seemingly inordinate jealousy on the husband's part which we may attribute to rejection fears learned literally at his mother's knee, with the wife's complementary attitude. Extravagantly endowed with the same fear for the same reasons, she nevertheless provokes his jealousy as a mechanism for her own security—only if he is domineering and possessive can she be really sure of his love. Anglo husband-wife relations generalize from the same sources but with different results. The reciprocal egalitarianism of sibling relations is explicit as a pattern in married life. The husband, looking on his wife as a "girl just like the girl who married dear old dad," is

particularly on guard against henpecking and particularly resentful of female domination. The wife likely identifies her husband as more of a brother than a father and may indulge in competitive rivalry derivative of sibling relationships, but her identification with her own mother may involve traits of "independence" or even "bossiness" which will disturb the assertive male.

The paradigm of derivation of motivational patterns we have been following is sufficient to illustrate at least some of the dimensions of cultural differences in the socialization genesis and social expression of these orientations. In a complex but certainly empirically accessible way, these other patterns could be traced, not only for sex roles, but for other roles related to those of the archetypical nuclear family by stereotype and attitudinal expectation. Thus the impact of ontogenetically stable motivational patterns of the roles of the *patrón*, the *maestro*, the doctor, or the executive can be determined empirically. Basic data are beginning to become available on this aspect of American culture.

For Hispano culture we suggest a series of propositions about the dynamic implications of the institutional values we have described:

1. Paternalism in Hispano social structure corresponds to dominance (and protection?) patterns learned in age graded sibling relationships and in relation to strict paternal discipline in childhood.
 - 1a. Paternalistic dominance patterns generalize from the older sibling and father-identification role to the male sex role, the father role, the husband role and the political and economic boss role.
 - 1b. Corresponding submissive (and dependency?) patterns generalize from younger sibling and dependent child roles to the female sex role, the mother and wife roles, and to male roles of political and economic subordination (e.g., *obrero*, *borreguero*, *partidario*, etc.).

The paternalistic familism of Hispano society seems to be related to major

aspects of the childhood relations between siblings and the relations between children and their fathers. Psychologically, elements of dominance, submissiveness and dependency may be involved. Crucial to this hypothesis is the assumption of a particular pattern of identification, or, amounting to the same thing, of role generalization. The mediation of familism in this process should, of course, imply that generalization of the content of kinship roles to non-kinship roles should be more explicit or more thoroughgoing in Hispano society than in our own. The demographic and social structural factors encourage this interpretation, at least in the sense that generalization of kinship behavior to other spheres may be more diffuse in general American society. While paternalism implies a difference in the content of the kinship roles that is available for generalization, familism seems to involve a difference in the process of generalization itself. Thus a paternalistic system implies an emphasis on the derivation of patterns from father-child relationships, with a content emphasizing dominance, submission, dependency, and similar factors; a familistic system implies a widespread and explicit generalization of family roles throughout the culture, whatever their emotional content. Family roles are primary and widely generalized in any culture, but Hispano culture phrases this unusually explicitly—a procedure which probably inhibits secondary elaboration of the psychology of social roles. An Hispano *patrón* is consequently more like a father than an Anglo boss.

2. Traditionalism in Hispano social structure corresponds to the firm establishment of identification with parents in later childhood.
 - 2a. Patterns of identification with and submission to authority figures generalize from familial to economic, political and religious authority figures.

Traditionalism as a cultural value requires a strong identification with parents and willingness to submit to the dictates

of ones "elders and betters." A radically progressive orientation would then fit with a stormy adolescence and inter-generational disruption which seem to be outstanding features of American life. The appearance of pachuquismo as a rather drastic innovation and pathology among those Mexicano groups whose life is most disrupted also tends to support this interpretation. The critical evidence, however, lies in processes of psychological identification among groups of Mexicanos still relatively undisturbed by culture change.

3. Dramatism in Hispano social structure may be derivative of intense patterns of conflicting motivations proceeding from childhood sibling and parent-child relations.
- 3a. The role origins of such patterns are likely to be multiple.
- 3b. The generalization of motivational intensity does not appear to be entirely role-bound.

Dramatism appears to be a relatively diffuse pattern. It should imply an emotional intensification of reactions, one possible derivation of which has been illustrated in relation to the jealousy pattern of husband-wife relations. It is possible that intensification of emotional involvement may always require a dialectic process in which tension is built up through simultaneous operation of emotionally conflicting motives. The motivational intensity implied by dramatism would necessarily be derived from a variety of role contexts of learning. My hypothesis is that the expression of this orientation may be not only diffuse in its adult appearances, but possibly diffuse in its origins as well; that it is both learned and expressed without any very explicit relationship to specific roles.

4. Fatalism in Hispano social structure may be traceable to acute rejection fears learned in childhood in relation to maternal discipline and reinforced as a defense by patterns of submission to overbearing paternal authority.
- 4a. Generalization of the fatalistic motif should cause its appearance in relation to the roles for which parent-child relationships serve as a primary model.

Fatalism in Hispano culture appears to be a more general form of the submissiveness discussed above in relation to paternalistic dominance. It may be traced to the child's acceptance of dependency as an alternative to strivings which bring only disapproval, rejection and conflict. I have hypothesized that the origin of these feelings may lie primarily in mother-child relationships, although they may be reinforced in other connections, such as the younger sibling role. Ultimately, the expression of fatalism does not appear to be role-specific. Rather it is in attitudes towards death, generic reactions to natural phenomena, and possibly matters of aesthetic style or religious belief, that it emerges most clearly. In more specific terms, however, fatalism is probably closely linked to political conservatism, and is a necessary motivational counterpart to the pronounced traditionalism already discussed. Just as traditionalism implies strong identification with strong parents, fatalism might be described as a "regressive" continuation of an adaptation which is literally child-like. The characterological problems thus posed have a particular bearing on the role of the innovator, especially the political innovator, in Hispanic culture.

5. Personalism in Hispano culture implies limited aspirations and a submissive acceptance of environmental limitations, including those of the interpersonal environment, as a framework for a broadened range of acceptable personal idiosyncrasy.
- 5a. Establishing the integrity of personal identity corresponds to early hierarchical resolution of sibling rivalry and experience in the dominance and submission of parent-child relationships.

Individualism of the Anglo American type is a phenomenon quite distinct from what is here called personalism. The Hispano pattern implies greater toleration for disruptive idiosyncrasy, but it also includes a psychological guarantee that such self-fulfillment will be rare. The Anglo system makes every man a king, but all

must be equal, freely and fairly competing kings. The Hispano system makes *some* men emperors—and adjusts the rest to a more limited aspiration. By virtue of the universal Hispano experience of both seniority and subordination, both of these extremes are psychologically meaningful in each individual. Rules and customs, in such a psychology, become semi-permeable membranes, to be pierced anarchically when one's self-respect demands it, but simultaneously self-respect is liberated from responsibility for status. A man is poor not because he is morally inadequate, but because it is the will of God. With this exculpation, one is free to enjoy vicariously the lordly success of others who need not be considered as competitors. The relation of this limited aspiration

level to early experience in resolution of rivalry between siblings seems clear.

The relationships postulated in these propositions may be considered as hypotheses deriving from the present study. They are based upon logical derivatives of the institutional values we have described and the rough picture of Hispano socialization available to us. In neither basis are they exhaustive; however, they do delineate a few relatively specific aspects of the contrast between Anglo and Hispano society and their contrasting socialization systems. They are intended to suggest that an eventual synthetic treatment of motivational problems and social structure may be realized through continued research effort in the field common to the psychological and cultural sciences.

Glossary

- abuelo:** grandparent.
ahijado: godchild.
aleluyas: members of a "protestant" religious movement in northern New Mexico and southern Colorado.
amigo: friend.
amonestaciones: publication of the banns of engagement in church.
Anglo: Anglo-American.
baile: dance.
bautismo: baptism.
bautizado: one who is baptized.
bisabuelo: great-grandparent.
biznieto: great-grandchild.
bodas: wedding vows.
borreguero: sheepherder.
brujería: witchcraft.
brujo: witch.
calvario: Calvary; ceremonial ground.
camposanto: cemetery.
cantinero: bartender.
caporal: overseer.
carpintero: carpenter.
casado: married person.
casorio: wedding dance.
catecismo: catechism.
cazador: hunter.
celador: warden.
Ceniza: Ash Wednesday.
coadjutor: assistant ritualist.
cofradía: religious fraternity.
comadre: mother or godmother of my godchild; god-mother of my child.
compadrazgo: ritual kinship established by ceremonial sponsorship.
compadre: parent or godparent of my godchild; god-parent of my child.
confesión: confession.
confirmación: confirmation.
confirmado: one who is confirmed.
coplas: couplets; folk verse form.
costumbre: custom.
coyote: coyote; half-breed.
Cuaresma: Lent.
cuñado: sibling-in-law.
curandero: curer.
cherife: deputy-sheriff.
cherife mayor: county sheriff.
chófer: driver.
día de la cruz: day of the cross; Good Friday.
día de los reyes magos: day of the Three Kings; Twelfth Night.
día del santo: saint's day; name day.
disciplinante: flagellant.
disciplinas: whips.
de edad: adult.
encomienda: trust; system of land and labor tenancy.
enfermero: nurse.
entierro: burial.
entrada: (ritual) entrance.
entrega: (ritual) surrender.
esposo: spouse.
eucarestia: Eucharist.
extrema unción: extreme unction.
familia: family; kindred.
fiesta: festival, especially of the town saint.
gringo: foreigner.
hembra: female.
herbolario: herbalist.
hermanastro: step-sibling.
hermano: sibling.
hermano de luz: brother of light; Penitente officer.
hermano mayor: older brother.
hermano menor: younger brother.
hermano penitente: Penitent Brother; member of the Penitente order.
hijastro: step-child.
hijo: child; son or daughter.
hombre: (adult) man.
huérfano: orphan.
jefe: boss; chief; parent (slang).
jefe político: political boss.
Jueves Santo: Holy Thursday.
labriego: laborer.
leñador: woodcutter.
lobo: wolf; mixed-blood.
luto: mourning.
machismo: he-man-ism.
macho: male.
madrastra: step-mother.
madre: mother.
madrina: godmother.
maestro: teacher.
maestro de novios: instructor of novices.
mal ojo: evil eye.
mamá: mamma.
mandatorio: collector.
manito: little brother (slang); New Mexican (Mexican slang).
marido: husband.
Martes Santo: Holy Tuesday.
matrimonio: matrimony.
mayordomo: overseer; sexton.
mecánico: mechanic.
medio hermano: half sibling.
Miércoles Santo: Holy Wednesday.
minero: miner.
misa cantada: high mass.
misa de difuntos: requiem mass.
mono: monkey; effigy used in witchcraft.
morada: chapel.
muchacho: youth.
mujer: woman.
músico: musician.
nana: grandma.
nieto: grandchild.
niño: child (in age).
noviazgo: engagement.
noviciado: novitiate.
novio: fiancé; novice.
nuera: daughter-in-law.
obligación: induction.
obrero: worker.
pachuco: zoot-suiter.
pachuquismo: zoot-suit-ism; idiom identified with zoot-suiters.
padrastra: step-father.
padre: father; priest.
padrino: godfather.
papá: daddy.
pariente: kinsman.
partera: midwife.
partidario: tenant sheepherder.
partido: sheepherding tenancy.
Pascua: Easter.
pastor: sheepherder.
patrón: boss.
penitencia: penance.
penitente: penitent; member of the Penitente order.
peón: peasant; tenant farmer, rancher, etc.
pítero: flutist.
plebe: gang.
pobre: poor.
político: politician.
prendorio: engagement party.
primera comunión: first communion.
primo: cousin.
procesión: procession; public religious parade.
ranchero: rancher.
ranchito: isolated ranching settlement.
raza: race; ethnic group.
rebisabuelo: great-great-grandparent.
rico: rich.
rosario: rosary; prayer service.
Sábado de Gloria: Easter Saturday.
sangrador: bloodletter.
santo: saint; saint's image.
secretario: secretary.
Semana Santa: Holy Week.
sembrador: farmer.
sermón: a service of scripture and sermon.
sobrinio: sibling's child.
soltero: single person.
suegro: spouse's parent.
surumato: Mexican (New Mexican slang).
tata: great-great-grandparent.
tataradeudo: aged and distant relative.
tiendero: shopkeeper.
Tinieblas: Tenebrae.
tío: parent's sibling.
trabajador: laborer.
troquero: trucker.
vaquero: cowboy.
velorio: wake.
viejito: little old man.
viejo: old person.
Viernes Santo: Good Friday.
visita: formal engagement visit.
vispera: eve (of a holiday); vesper.
viudo: widower.
yerno: son-in-law.

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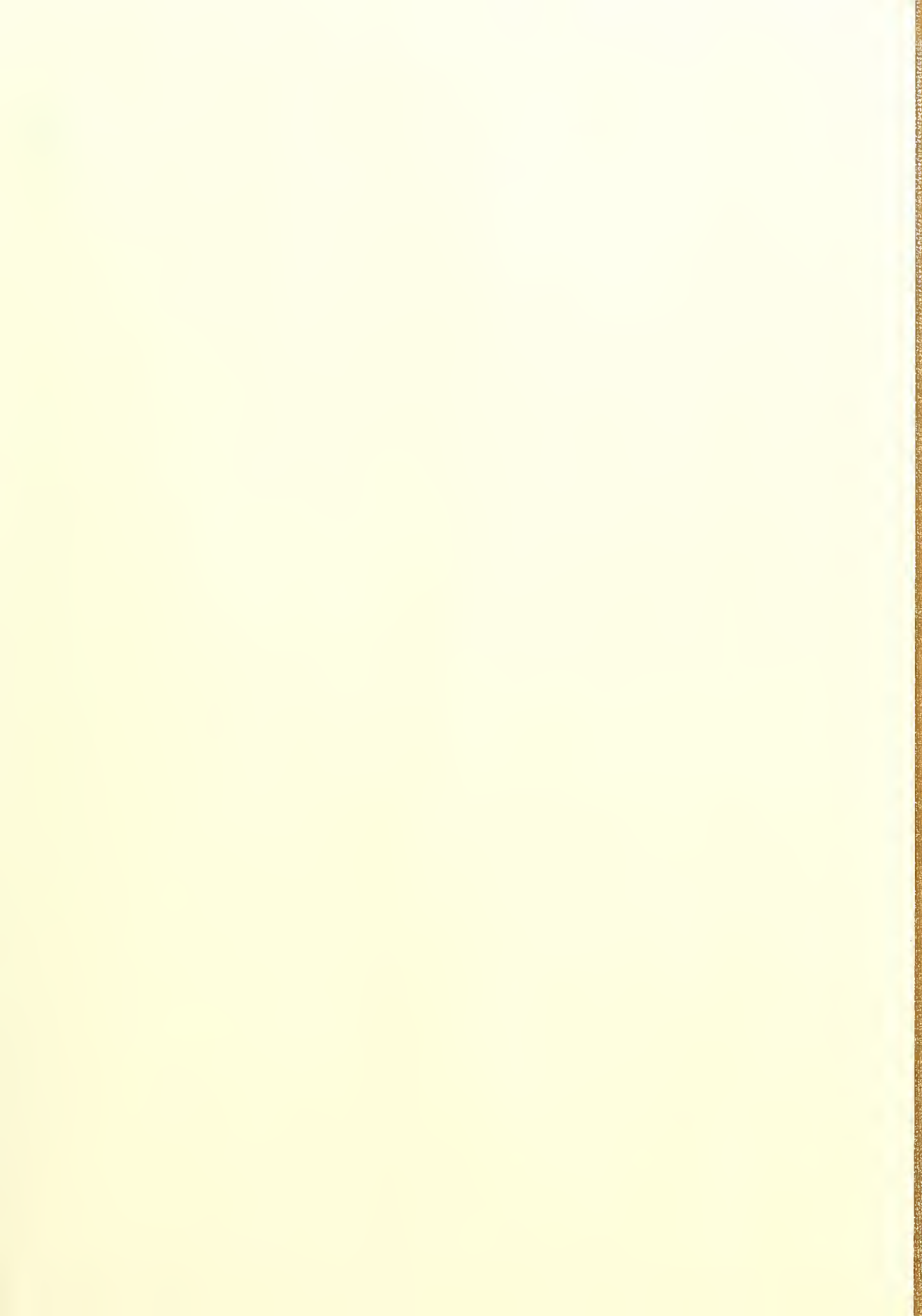
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